

THE MONASTERY OF SOUMELA AND ANCIENT TRADE ROUTES CONNECTED TO IT

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Rezumat: Este bine cunoscut faptul că între rutele de comerț și temple au existat relații apropiate. E imposibilă excluderea mănăstirilor din această generalizare. Crearea unei conexiuni între comerț și trei mănăstiri, aflate în zona străbătută de rutele comerciale, este inevitabilă. Mănăstirea Soumela se distinge, în fața celorlalte două, prin amplasarea sa unică pe ruta comercială de vară. Turnurile de supraveghere și adăposturile pentru cămile, din apropierea mănăstirii, dovedesc acest lucru.

Un alt aspect important legat de Mănăstirea Soumela și relația acesteia cu rutele comerciale îl reprezintă structura demografică și amplasarea satelor în areale cu destinație comercială. În mod special, memoriile călătorilor și registrele Imperiului Otoman arată că în regiune, pentru o perioadă lungă de timp, a existat o economie vivace. De asemenea, anchetele de teren din ultimii ani arată importanța rutelor comerciale care străbat regiunea.

Abstract: It is a well known fact that trade routes and temples had a close relations. It is not possible to exempt monasteries from this generalization. It is inevitable to build connection between trade and three monasteries located in the area where trade routes passing. The Monastery of Soumela comes front among the rest two with its unique location on summer trade route. Watch towers and camel inns at the vicinity of the Monastery prove this fact.

Another important aspect related to Soumela Monastery and her connection to the trade routes is the demographic structure and settlement of villages located on the trade destinations. Especially travelers memoirs and registers of Ottoman Empire show that for a long period there was a lively economy in the region. Field surveys at the last years also show the importance of trade routes passing from the region.

Résumé: On sait qu'entre les chemins commerciaux et les temples ont existé depuis toujours des relations proches. Il est impossible d'exclure les monastères de cette généralisation. La création d'une connexion entre le commerce et trois monastères, situés dans la zone traversée par les routes commerciales, est inévitable. Le monastère Soumela se distingue, des autres deux, par son emplacement unique sur la route commerciale d'été. Les tours de veille et les abris pour les chameaux des alentours du monastère prouvent cette chose-ci.

Un autre aspect important lié au Monastère Soumela et à la relation de celle-ci avec les routes commerciales est représenté par la structure démographique et l'emplacement des villages dans les zones à destination commerciale. Spécialement, les mémoires de voyageurs et les registres de l'Empire Ottoman montrent, que dans cette région-ci, pour une longue période de temps, il y a eu une économie extrêmement active. Les enquêtes de terrain des dernières années montrent, aussi, l'importance des routes commerciales qui ont traversé la contrée.

Keywords: Kolat, Soumela, Trade Routes, Sameruksa, Tax Books, Camel Caravans

Introduction

Numerous religions have a monastic aspect, including Hinduism, Buddhism and Christianity. The monastic tradition of these three religions often includes vows of poverty and service, with monks and nuns humbling themselves to the greater service of God.

In the construction of monasteries the choice of place had vital importance, monasteries were built far away from settlement areas, at the tops of rocks observing the valleys in the vicinity, caves of the great rocks where it was deserted and almost impossible to reach or on hills it was only possible to reach via steep tracks. Sometimes a monastery housed a religious community of monks and nuns, and governed by them together. Exiled princes, opponent dynasties and clergies, were imprisoned and trained in monasteries to rid them of their contentious ideas. The most important income sources of the monasteries were donations and taxes collected from the villages in the vicinity of the monastery.

Donations were collected by monks who devoted their life to the monastery, monks especially in Eastern Orthodox Christianity, like Anatolian dervishes were serving their monasteries with the philosophy of “*one piece of bread, one piece of clothing*”. With the beginning of 13th century, feudalism in Europe diminished and the power of church was questioned, so monasteries lost their power and importance, although in Eastern Christianity they preserved their power and importance until the late 19th centuries. The Ottoman Empire’s governance of those lands in that era and Ottomans’ policy not to intervene or prevent monastic life had made it possible.

I. Zeki Eyüboğlu argues that; in the vicinity of Maçka almost all monasteries might be dated after the twelfth century. Whereas the case especially in Eastern Christianity, about all monasteries from medieval ages traditionally having been built at the deep surface of a cliff having a cavern inside supports Eyüboğlu’s argument, the foundation date of Soumela should be a few centuries before the medieval ages. According to Anthony Bryer, all large monasteries in the Black Sea Region have a sacred cavern or all are built in front of a natural cave¹. The fact that Soumela and all other important monasteries in the region are built next to a natural cave corrects Bryer.

At the beginning monasteries were educational centers where, Bible, Christian theology and liturgy books and especially history of churches were basic lessons to be taught. Greek language, literature, logic, canonical theology and discourses were the basic lessons.² Students after completing the study of said lessons, in line with their skill levels were promoted to the next post in accordance with a determined hierarchical order. Due to the fact that, during monastic history, construction

¹ Anthony Bryer and others, *The Post-Byzantine Monuments of the Pontos*, (UK: Ashgate Variorum, 2002), p. 166.

² İsmet Zeki Eyüboğlu, *Maçka*, 1. Baskı, (Istanbul: Pencere Yayınları, 2004), p. 45.

traditions were more effective than canonical administration; priests in monasteries have been named as; “monakos”.

Monakos, had the lowest rank in a monastic hierarchy hence all students entered into a monastery initially were named as monakos. In English, the term “monk” etymologically derives from the word “monakos”. Because monks were devoting themselves to God and will be expected to suffer, they had been trained in difficult conditions. They were not allowed to marry and any of them who succeeded to advance in the canonical structure could become diocesan which was a lower post before becoming a priest. Diocesans were two sorts, one allowed to get married and the other not. They had the right to have a determined parish and they also had the chance to become a priest in time. The post after diocese was episcopo. In line with their merits, episcopos had the right to become archbishops. As bishops were assumed representatives and successors of apostles, as apostles had associates, bishops also were acting as faith witnesses of their parishes.³ In this canonical hierarchy, after some pre-determined steps bishops had the chance to become metropolitan.

Metropolitans were domiciled at the center of their metropolitanates and they were representatives of the Christian parishes in their area. They were solving problems of their parish and controlling duties of all ecclesiastics. Christian schools, church buildings or rebuilding works were under the authority of metropolitans. They were under the patriarchate and relevant to their parish and works, had been obliged to submit periodical reports. Metropolitans were assigned by Patriarchate and their authorization area was determined by charters given to them. They were strengthening and encouraging continuous cooperation between churches and monasteries, they also had been authorized to inspect monasteries under their governance. Metropolitans were authorized to control monastery foundations and after approval of monks they could purchase estates on behalf of monasteries. Annual revenue of monastery foundations also was under the authorization and responsibility of metropolitans and they had preserved all aforesaid rights during Ottoman governance.⁴ In addition to incomes of monasteries at their area, some of the monasteries also could have incomes from Eflak Wallachia and Buğdan Moldovia⁵ also.

In the monastic hierarchy the last position a priest could achieve was to become Patriarch which is an equal post to Pope in eastern Christianity. Patriarchs were the most superior authority, being patriarch until they died, were governing all Christian society, churches, monasteries and clergies under them. In Anatolia like other Orthodoxy churches and monasteries Soumela and its monks also were under the governance of Phanar Orthodoxy Patriarchate.⁶

³ Mehmet Aydın, “Hristiyan Konsüllerine Genel Bir Bakış”, *Belleten*, C. LIV, Sayı: 24, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Nisan 1966), p. 372.

⁴ Ahmet Türkan, “Trabzon’da Hristiyanlık Tarihi ve Sumela Manastırı’nın Hristiyanlıktaki Yeri”, *Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi*, No: 123189, (Konya: YÖK Dokümantasyon Merkezi, 2003), p. 53.

⁵ Today’s Romania had been named as Eflak and Buğdan at the time of Ottomans.

⁶ Despite discussions on its Ecumenical position, Phanar Patriarchate today governs all Greek Christian Orthodox Society.

In Anatolia the founding father of monastic tradition was Saint Basileos Bishop of Kayseri (329-379). Upon emergence of different usages and methods at the very beginning of Christianity, Saint Basileos aiming to achieve educational unity and teach Christianity to illiterate people had established the first sample monasteries. Thus, large amount of monasteries in Anatolia are the product of St. Basileos' monastic discipline. Monasteries had been founded in the vicinity of defined regions where monks were living. Whereas monastic tradition and monkish type of living started before him, Basileos was recognized as the first priest who determined basic rules and regulated monkish living standards and monastic traditions.

Due to this reason Basileos in Orthodoxy is given superior importance and he is one of the a few saints, whose figures appeared in Cappadocia who were always painted on the church apses and naves. After structuring his discipline, St. Basileos preferring to be a monk, he paid visits to monkish centers in Palestine, Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia, in 357-362 he came to Trabzon⁷ which at that time was under the governance of Pontos State.⁸ St. Basileos came to Trabzon around the date St. Sophronios and Barnabas' arrival in Trabzon who were recognized the first founders of the Monastery of Soumela. However, we don't have any information in the written sources creating a connection between St. Basileos' visit and the establishment of Soumela Monastery. After St. Basileos, monkish type of living and monastic traditions had a regulated order and since this date it has become a custom for monks to be dressed in black which is the symbol of sainthood. Due to their long black cloths covering their heads monks have been called "black-headed" for a long time.

Because missionary activities were one of the primary and may be have been the most important aim of students, during education in the monasteries, special attention had been paid to train students in this area. In Orthodoxy, monasteries were of three types; male monasteries in which only monks were living, maiden's monasteries where only nuns were living and the third type called common monasteries in which nuns and monks were living together. In the area of Maçka almost all monasteries were male buildings, where only monks were living because of stern life conditions in the difficult environment. There were three main monasteries in the region; Vazelon (according to tales date of foundation is: 270), Soumela (according to tales date of foundation is: 386) and Peristera (according to tales date of foundation is: 752) and were male monasteries. In addition to the Maidens'

⁷ Türkan, *loc cit.*, pp. 41-42.

⁸ Pontos State: National state of Anatolia, founded in BC. 298, by Persian monarchs living in Anatolia together with Anatolia's native people. Its first capital was Amasya city (Rock Tombs of Kings carved in this era), second capital was Sinop city and temporary capital was Pergama, in this era the tradition using paid Ionian soldiers has been abandoned and a national army formed by Eastern Black Sea region people was founded. It is the national state of Anatolia, its flag was with crescent and star, dominated Ionians and fought against Roma to protect Anatolia's independency. It has no any kind of relation with Ionian people or Greeks. Because Eastern Black Sea was under the governance of this state, it is also named "Pontus" in ancient times. For more information see; Mahmtu Goloğlu, *Trabzon Tarihi Fetih'ten Kurtuluş Kadar*, 1. Baskı, (Trabzon: Serander Yayınları, 2000), pp. 60-63.

Monastery in Trabzon centre, according to records there was another maidens' monastery at the site of Vazelon Monastery, located alongside the Hamsikoy Village road. This monastery has been exposed to fire and burnt down wholly in 1944.⁹ At the outside entrance of monasteries there always were churches easily accessible to women and men for worshipping. The church or chapel of Soumela, was Saint Barbara located at one km distance, to the right side end of the new built vehicle road. Sallina Balance is not sure whether this Chapel belonged to Saint Barbara or not says that; the rough masonry and tiny windows of the chapel give it a medieval appearance, but the pointed arch over the doorway looks later.¹⁰

Starting from its foundation date to 1923 when the Monastery was emptied, Soumela or with its Turkish name Maryemana preserved its specialty to be a male monastery. Necmettin Aygün, while surveying Trabzon trade in the 18th centuries, at his work on Ottoman Court Records, quoting from Fallmerayer argues that; in Soumela nuns were making income due to linen works,¹¹ hitherto I think, Aygun when quoting confused Maidens' Monastery in Trabzon centre with Soumela. In Soumela nuns never lived and none of the sources include any information regarding nuns' existence in the Monastery.

Considering their architecture, stone works, internal paintings and locations, monasteries, chapels and churches in Maçka, Kurum, Stavri and Imera settlements, resemble Caucuses examples rather than Byzantine. Especially, on the paintings of those buildings Caucasus and Byzantine synthesis is clear.¹² While some of buildings have a resemblance of basilica construction features which was inherited by Christianity from Rome, some of them have been built mostly in oriental style. Basic building material was stone and despite lacking quarries in the vicinity, ashlar for stonework of Soumela used at frontage surface, door and window niches and jambs have been excavated at quarries and brought from Santa High Plateaus seventeen km distance from Soumela¹³ Buildings' doors and windows have been built with arched ashlar while their arches at the middle were smooth cut stones.

Almost at all buildings, window and door niches, ashlar and ornaments are of great merit and elaborate works. Roofs of buildings were generally domed, sometimes barrel vaulted and a few examples were cross vaulted. The roof of Soumela in the church and monks' cells sections are mostly barrel vaulted,¹⁴ whilst at the monastery part of frontage is cross vault, constructed with wood. As they were very wealthy, monasteries were very often attacked by smugglers or outlaws, therefore special

⁹ Eyüboğlu, *loc cit.*, p. 45.

¹⁰ Anthony Bryer and others., *The Post-Byzantine Monuments of the Pontos*, (UK: Ashgate Variorum, 2002), Part I, p. 262.

¹¹ Necmettin Aygün, *Onsekizinci Yüzyılda Trabzon'da Ticaret*, (Trabzon: Serander Yayınları, 2005), p. 352.

¹² Gabriel Millet and D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Painting at Trabizond*, 1st Ed., (UK: Academie Des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres and University of London, 1936), p. 148.

¹³ Özkan Tüfek, *Sumela Meryemana*, (Trabzon: 1978), p. 101.

¹⁴ İsmail Köse and others, *Pratical Anatolian Guide*, 1st Ed., (Ankara: Detay Yayıncılık, 2008), p. 237.

entrance gates of monasteries were constructed with strong ashlar of maximum width of one person.

As it was mentioned above, entrance gates have been built at a width so only one person may enter, always at the uppermost of the entrances there were eyelets to watch outside and guard insiders. When penetrated from the entrance there always should be a narrow passage to let insiders defend themselves. The case is the same in Soumela. The entrance gate of Soumela was guarded by watchmen and it was accessible by using a suspended wooden ladder until 1850's. The ladder was being pulled up at nights and the Monastery was inaccessible to any outsider.¹⁵ The entrance corridor of Soumela coming after the gate is three meters length, constructed as narrow as possible and roofed by barrel vault. As it was told before, the style used at the churches and monasteries in Maçka and its vicinity besides having a Caucasus effects resemblances medieval stone works also can be seen. Thus, effects of medieval architecture may clearly be seen in the stone works of earlier built parts of the Soumela.

To Bryer, after the conquest in 1461 Trabzon had a monastic economy of almost Tibetan proportions and at the beginning of the 19th centuries due to reestablishing of ancient trade routes, people living around were enriched by the trade like Comnenus Kings had been enriched centuries ago. According to him, via those developments monasteries and churches in the region came under a comprehensive restoration or new ones started to be constructed.¹⁶ Bryer also argues that; due to existence of the three great monasteries (Vazelon, Soumela and Gregorius Peristera-Kuştul in local language), Christian Greeks in Maçka could have preserved their identity and faith whereas lacking such great monasteries, people living in other parts of Trabzon mostly had converted from their religion.¹⁷ Despite the fact, Heath W. Lowry's arguments also seconds Bryer, surveys on Ottoman Tax Books and Court Records provide clear and strong evidence undermining Bryer and Lowry's arguments.¹⁸

Contrary to Bryer's argument, three monasteries have been built situating on the three valleys of Maçka region neighboring to the passage of trade routes and together with Rums¹⁹ Christian Greeks, Christianized Turkish tribes and so on, also had preferred to settle at the vicinity of aforesaid trade routes. Also, the late Ronald C. Jennings, based on his surveys at Ottoman Court Records *Ser'iyye Sicils* says that; many elements of the society and economy of Maçka during the Kingdom of Trabzon continued under Ottoman rule in the 16th and early 17th centuries. During Ottoman rule, peasants of Maçka doubtless lived at least with the same degree of prosperity

¹⁵ Jakop Philip Fallmerayer, *Doğu'dan Fragmanlar*, Çev. Hüseyin Salihoğlu, 1. Baskı, (İstanbul: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2002), p. 118.

¹⁶ Bryer and others, *loc cit.*, p. xxviii.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Hanefi Bostan, *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Trabzon Sancağında Sosyal ve İktisadi Hayat*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2002), p. 351.

¹⁹ Orthodox Ottoman citizens under Phanar Patriarchate; including Greeks, Christianized Turkish and some Caucasian tribes. At this work to identify these people the term "Rum" will be used.

from their agriculture as they had enjoyed prior to 1461. Ottoman courts imposed and maintained the Pax Ottomanica, extending security of person and property to the Christian villagers.²⁰ In this context, İlber Ortaylı says that; Ottoman Juridical System is the continuity of Rome's Jurisdiction as it was protecting non-Muslims' rights and he names Ottoman Juridical System "*Turkokratia*".²¹ In either case, Jennings' findings and neutral fixings have vital importance correcting biased and deliberate purposive arguments of Bryer, Lowry and other numerous orientalists. Jennings also shows that, how those baseless arguments lacking any scientific root.

The last record regarding Soumela given by Jennings from Court records is dated May 25, 1629, is related to the monks' objection to extraordinary taxes which would be collected from the Monastery's foundations. According to record; Monk Avram V. states; back from father and grandfather he had possessed property belonging to Meryemana (Soumela Monastery) Vakf. Monk Avram asks the court to examine the *fetva*, in his possession and issue a legal certificate of the proceedings whether this extraordinary tax demand is consistent to Sharia or not?²² Jennings does not give any information about the result of the hearing, but this is a vital case record, proving that, monks' appealing to the court not to pay tax means Soumela or other monasteries do not pay tax for their foundation fields and non-Muslim citizens also easily could have applied to courts when they felt being wrongly treated.

The ancient trade routes and the monastery of Soumela

There are Zigana and Soğanlı mountains following the Kackar- Vercenik mountain range between Trabzon and Gümüşhane Province. Zigana Mountains also functioned as a route of return of ten thousands in the 4th century BC. While passing over peaks of the Zigana, Ten thousands had seen the Black Sea and arrived at Trabzon after a hard journey.²³ There are still some stone masonry remaining from the Ten Thousands. Soğanlı Mountains are south of Zigana Mountains and both mountain chains were convenient for the establishment of several settlements, so numerous monasteries, churches and chapels were built in these areas. Even today many villages where people all year round can be seen up to an altitude of 1800 meters, and also many seasonal pasture settlements where people live only in summer exist at an altitude of over 1800 meters.

²⁰ Ronald C. Jennings, "*The Society and Economy of Maçuka in The Otoman Judicial Registers of Trabzon, 1560-1640*", *Studies on Ottoman Social History in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries-Women, Zimmis and Sharia Courts in Kayseri, Cyprus and Trabzon*, (Istanbul: The Isis Pres, 1999), p. 610.

²¹ İlber Ortaylı, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Aile*, 5. Baskı, (Istanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 2002), 2.

²² Jennings, *op. cit.*, p. 543.

²³ Ksenophon Anabasis, *Onbinlerin Dönüşü*, Çeviren; Tanju Gökçöl, İkinci Baskı, (Ankara: Sosyal Yayınlar, 1998), p. 144.

As it was mentioned before, Ottoman Christian citizens under the Orthodox Patriarchate were named “Rum” as in the Millet System.²⁴ Rums included people whose origins were of Greek, assimilated Turkic and other Caucasian tribes, who became Christian afterwards and people who lived in the Eastern Black Sea region were also named as Rum as they were up to the Phanar Orthodox Patriarchate. Ottoman Rums or Orthodoxies who belonged to a church apart from the Armenians were densely settled on the west and south slopes of the Zigana-Soğanlı mountain ranges.²⁵ As ancient routes, ancient pack trails and a sub way of the Silk Road were in that territory, most of the settlements were located there. Also many settlements were located on the trade routes between Trabzon and Erzurum as the routes were very important in ancient times and especially in the Byzantine period.²⁶ Trabzon harbor had an important role in transportation throughout history and this importance had lasted until the beginning of the 19th century. Silver and copper mined in Gümüşhane were being sent to Istanbul through Trabzon harbor. The Starting point of the trade routes to Iraq, Iran and India was also Trabzon.²⁷ Trade routes starting from Trabzon reached to the Maçka district where there was a military base located in the Byzantine period. The Route to Tabriz and a sub way of the Silk Road were included in the routes above mentioned. Routes were split into two different directions in Maçka, one was for winter travel, it reached to Gümüşhane, Baiburd and Erzurum passing Zigana.

The other was for spring and summer travel, it reached Altındere Valley following The Meryemana River and passed in front of the Monastery of Soumela. This route also reached the Kolat Inns following the Monastery of Soumela, it was generally passed when going to the ancient city of Kurum and combined with the other routes.²⁸ These ancient trade routes had a vital role in trading throughout the centuries, but they lost their importance with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the emergence of alternative trade routes in Samsun. Bryer reports that; the whole invaders and merchants had to go to Maçka district coming through the Pontus Gates

²⁴ **Millet System:** It is a kind of covenant between Ottoman Empire and non-Muslim citizens who are living on conquered soils. Due to this covenant, non-Muslims’ rights, freedom and protection were quarantined. Millet System has not based on ethnicity or tribal kinships, yet it had based on sense of belonging to a religious society. Thanks to this system, several hostile tribes living disconnectedly had been brought together and reorganized under their religious society. Until French Revolution in 1789 the system operated excellently but after this date it started to undermine Ottoman Empire’s territorial and cultural integrity. Hostile tribes who reorganized and became societies due to nationalistic movements accelerated collapse of Ottoman Empire. For more information regarding, Millet System and Ottoman Family Structure see; Ortaylı, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-16.

²⁵ Anthony Bryer and others. *The Post-Byzantine Monuments of the Pontos, A Source Book*, Ashgate Variorum Collected Studies Series: CS707, UK, 2002. Bölüm 1, p. ix.

²⁶ F.İ. Uspenski, *Trabzon Tarihi, Kuruluşundan Fethine Kadar*, Çeviren; Enver Uzun, Eser Ofset Matbaacılık, Trabzon 2003, p. 99.

²⁷ Hüseyin Albayrak and others, *Trabzon Yıllığı 97*, Yayın No: 52, (Trabzon: Trabzon Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 1997), p. 86.

²⁸ Necmettin Aygün, *Onsekizinci Yüzyılda Trabzon’da Ticaret*, (Trabzon: Serander Yayınları, 2005), p. 119.

in the east of Trabzon and they also had to pass the funnel shaped valley in Yazlık Village. Bryer also says that; Marco Polo and Ruy Gonzales Clavijo a Spanish traveler also had used these routes.²⁹ Ruins of a watch tower can be seen in the west entrance of the Yazlık Village. The watch tower was built for the security of trade routes and it was located in a place where the whole valley could be controlled. The area named "Pontus Gates"³⁰ by Bryer is located in a highland between Camibogazi and Zigana canyon like a passage.

While describing the route they used to visit the Monastery in 1840, Fallmerayer says that there were very sheer slopes and they went on their tour looking the River at the bottom of the valley, but they couldn't hear its burble because of distance.³¹ We concluded from the route description that Fallmerayer also used the route; he went to the Yazlık Villge, passed between Saveriksa Plateau and Altindere Village, and then reached the Monastery of Soumela. The route Fallmerayer described in 1850 above is matched with the old pack trails as the old people in the territory described. The River that Fallmerayer mentioned is the Meryemana River combination of other runnels and it is still possible to see the River among the trees from the old route, but it is not likely to hear the River's burble because of distance.

As it was told before, S. P. Mintslov who was the Russian Army commander during the invasion of Trabzon, on August 27, 1916 had paid a visit to Soumela; he also affirms what Fallmerayer said. According to Mintslov's descriptions; the track leading to Soumela was passing over deep valleys, steep land, arêtes and rocks whilst River of Meryemana ran at the bottom of deep valleys making gurgling sounds.³² Similar information regarding the track leading to the Monastery and its belongings was also given by Russian Military Newspaper "Voenniy Listok" published during the invasion.³³

Throughout known history, Trabzon was an ancient active seaport city. This case is clearly understood from the existence of Apollo's³⁴ head on one side and ship and anchor figures on other side of coins found minted in Trabzon. In ancient ages besides its commercial importance, Trabzon was a replenishment base also.³⁵ Records show that, Trabzon was the last sea arrival point of the trade route beginning from Persia Iran. According to information given by the famous traveler of the 13th century Marco Polo; caravans setting out from Trabzon and passing mountainous range between Maçka and Gümüşhane were arriving at Kazvin, Nishapur and Badakhshan or Kabul, by passing Ghazni onto the Indian seaports. Also at this time, there was a trade route

²⁹ Bryer and others., *op. cit.*, p. ix.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Fallmerayer, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

³² Uzun, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

³³ Enver Uzun, *İşgal Yıllarında (1916-19179 Trabzon'da Rus Askeri Gazetesi Voenniy Listok*, (Trabzon: Eser Ofset Matbaacılık, 2008), pp. 23-25.

³⁴ Collette Estin and Helene Laporte, *Yunan ve Roma Mitolojisi*, Çeviren; Musa Eran, 24. Baskı, (Ankara: Tübitak Yayınları, 2007), p. 104.

³⁵ Bostan, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

starting from Trabzon and arriving at Baghdad and caravans set out from Trabzon leading to Tabriz could have arrived here in an average thirty, thirty two days.³⁶

French orientalist Claude Cahen at his work "*La Turquie Pre-Ottomane-Turks in Anatolia Before Ottomans*" says that; caravans passing setting out from Persia, Armenia and Azerbaijan generally were arriving at Erzurum and Trabzon unloading their freights in Trabzon seaport and directing their destinations from here.³⁷ Ibrahim Tellioglu at his work "*Osmanlı Hakimiyetine Kadar Doğu Karadeniz'de Türkler-Turks in Black Sea Coasts Until Ottoman Sovereignty*" says that; at the most ancient times, existence of mine ores in Gümüşhane and Baiburt caused rising importance of both cities and in this region there were over a hundred natural caverns convenient to settle and live in.³⁸

W. Eleroy Curtis also in his work; "Around the Black Sea" says that; Trabzon is the terminus of the northern caravan route from Persia. The road over which the caravans travel is the same that Xenophon followed in the retreat of the Ten Thousands and it has been kept in fairly good condition all these centuries also it is scarcely fit for vehicles. Camel caravans usually take average 1380 km's (860 miles) forth and back about sixty days and at the beginning of the 19th century about twenty thousand camels arrived annually at Trabzon carrying several objects.³⁹ E. Lord Weeks at his work "*From the Black Sea through Persia and India*" says that; Persia begins in Trabzon practically and the road from Trabzon, through Erzurum to Tabriz or Tauris, the largest city in Persia is undoubtedly the oldest caravan route in the world. According to Weeks, from Tabriz to Black Sea by camel caravan takes three months which usually means travel by night and rest during the day.⁴⁰ Gümüşhane is located on the main junction of trade and caravan routes where at that time was under the governance of Kadı Burhaneddin visited by Ibn-i Battuta one of the most famous travelers of medieval ages. Battuta at his travel in the first half of the 14th century says about Gümüşhane that; the city has silver mines, the population is high where merchants from Iraq and Damascus pay visits, confirm at earlier times what Cahen, Tellioglu and other travelers said.⁴¹ By using said trade route to arrive from Erzurum to Trabzon different routes should have been used convenient to seasons. Information about these routes will be given in later pages of this paper.

Soğanlı Mountains' northern slopes are covered by green and marvelous pine forests whilst the side of Gümüşhane, southern slopes consists of barren lands and

³⁶ Bostan, *ibid*, p. 373.

³⁷ Claude Cahen, *Osmanlılar'dan Önce Anadolu'da Türkler*, 3. Baskı, (İstanbul: E Yayınları, 1994), p. 166.

³⁸ İbrahim Tellioglu, *Osmanlı Hakimiyetine Kadar Doğu Karadeniz'de Türkler*, 2. Baskı, (Trabzon: Serander Yayınları, 2007), pp. 4, 6.

³⁹ William Eleroy Curtis, *Araound The Black Sea-Armenia, Caucasus, Circassia, Daghestan, The Crimea, Roumania*, (New York: Hodder & Stoughton.), pp. 46-47.

⁴⁰ Edwin Lord Weeks, *From The Black Sea Through Persia and India*, (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1896), p. 2.

⁴¹ İbn-i Battuta, *Tuhfetü'n-nazar fî Araibü'l-emsar ve 'acaibü'l-esfar Seyahatname-i İbn-i Battuta*, Çeviren; Mehmet Şerif, (İstanbul: 1333), p. 328.

due to carstic surface morphology as Tellioğlu said there numerous underground caverns at those slopes. The routes passing from Gümüşhane leading to Trabzon one way or another ought to pass Maçka. The seasonal route which was used during spring and summer time having Kurum, Stavri, Imera-Kolat as connections were leading from the southern opposite slopes of Soumela Monastery, and was passing a Village named as Sameruksa by the 15th century Ottoman Tax Books *Tahrir Defterleri*.⁴² This area's definition today is located between Altındere Village and Saveriksa High plateau, the ancient route was passing from large pastures extending between both.

The Tax Books, Comprehensive Tax Books and Court Records belonging to the 15th century include vital figures regarding the land trade over Trabzon. The figures and data given by Ottoman records show that; Trabzon seaport was one of the largest seaports in Black Sea which became an Ottoman sea by Fatih's conquests⁴³ had vital commercial and military importance for the Empire. While the seaport of Trabzon was hired by private enterprises for three years and the rental rate was written down in the Tax Books show the vital importance and active situation of the seaport.⁴⁴ The Monastery of Soumela had been built in Altındere *Skalita* Village in the valley between Maçka and Altındere, at the intersection point of ancient routes passing by Kurum, Stavri and Imera ancient cities which merged in Kolat Ins. Altındere is the steepest sloped village in this valley and its former name Skalita derives from the Greek words stepped-ladder due to this characteristic.⁴⁵ Whereas there is no information in Ottoman Registers regarding the village of Altındere where Soumela is located, according to Greek sources, it was a Rum village having 250 people.⁴⁶ House remnants in this village are very similar to those in the Kurum valley, such houses in Altındere are like houses in the Kurum valley and had been built by stone, wood and front ground floors were used as stables for bovine animals. Therefore in cool winters it was easier to heat the houses.

Tayyib Gökbilgin argues that; Ottoman's historical records on Trabzon cover the period after the 15th century and there is not any record addressing the period

⁴² The records written down regularly by Ottoman Empire to register new conquest territories, determine lands' usage type and ownership, to clarify taxing rates were called Land Registers *Tahrir Kayıtları*. It was rule to renew those records out of thirty years. The registers were written down curiously including all administrative entities. All kind of economical, fiscal situations and administrative structure were operated according to those registers. Registers that was prepared full comprehensive basis were called *Icmal Defterleri*. See: M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "XVI. Yüzyıl Başlarında Trabzon Livası ve Doğu Karadeniz Bölgesi" *Belleten*, Cilt XXVI, Sayı: 102, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayını, Nisan 1962), p. 295.

⁴³ Mehmed Neşri, *Kitab-ı Cihan-Nüma, Neşri Tarihi*, II. Cilt, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1995), pp. 826-827.

⁴⁴ Bostan, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

⁴⁵ İlyas Karagöz, *Maçka Yer Adları*, (İstanbul: Turan Kültür Vakfı, 2003), p. 90.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

before this date.⁴⁷ Empire's Tax Books on the 15th century also do not include the name of Altındere Village, moreover the pastoral area named Saveriksa at present located at the upper slopes of Altındere and used by Yazlık *Livera* villagers only in summers, it is probable this area was the place registered with the name Sameruksa in Ottoman Tax Books. Information given by Tax Books regarding Galyan(e) Village which was located on the opposite side slopes of the Saveriksa strengthen presumption of this fact. In later years we see that; the name of Sameruksa Village in Tax Books changes into two such as, *Sameruksa-i Kebir* Large Sameruksa and *Sameruksa-i Küçük* Small Sameruksa. During this time it is highly probable that the settlement of Saveriksa below 1600 meters altitude included Altındere Village. At present between the upper border of Altındere Village and the lower border of Saveriksa High Plateau there is a partly plain meadow named "Cevirme" which was encircled by high walls being at least half of a meter width. The meadow being made a safety zone by high walls most probably was the rest area of caravans. Murat Arslan says that; one of the summer caravan routes passes from Kusal where the upper slope of aforesaid meadow is and reaches the Saveriksa High Plateau. According to information given by Arslan, at this destination there is a 17.5 km's cobblestone Roman route.⁴⁸

The above mentioned route passing from the upper slopes of Cevirme and Saveriksa, and the route passing from Cevirme together led to Yazlık Village. It is highly probable that considering weather and safety conditions both routes should alternatively be used. Arslan argues that; those routes might be remnants of ancient Roman roads.⁴⁹ According to registers belonging to this era in the year of 1486 in Sameruksa Village there was only one Muslim household⁵⁰ whereas the rest of population was Rum citizens. The importance of Sameruksa for the caravan trade is definitely clear in Court Records also. According to 1564 and 1565 Court Records; a wooden storage in Sameruksa-i Kucuk Village was sold with six months credit and the storage's value was eighty three Akche whilst another stone made storage was sold for 180 Akche.⁵¹ According to information given by Jennings from Court Records this dealing was done between Baskal bn Grigor Lazo and Yani bn Siglahito.⁵² The above mentioned records also prove that the summer route at the vicinity of Soumela was passing from the area between Altındere Village and Saveriksa pasture arriving at Yazlık Village.

According to Tax Books' records in 1486; in Maçka's forty nine villages there were 1.717 households, of those 104 divorced women *bive*, sixty nine single men *mücerred*, twenty five households holding inherited fields *baştina*, thirty three households responsible for maintenance and repairing of bridge and roads *müsellem*, thirty two households assistant helpers, nine single Christian assistant helpers

⁴⁷ Gökbilgin, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

⁴⁸ Doç. Dr. Murat Arslan, unpublished Surface Survey Report on Trabzon and Seventeen Districts, between August 01-19, 2008.

⁴⁹ Arslan, *op. cit.*, 2008.

⁵⁰ Bostan, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, p. 452.

⁵² Jennings, *op. cit.*, p. 585.

mucurred yamak.⁵³ Whilst in Balkan Organization of Empire households responsible for road maintenance and repair could be Christians, in Anatolia and eastern lands it was Muslims generally charged with such tasks and all of them were named *müsellem*, exempted from tax payment. Because of this fact, *müsellem* households were not included into the Muslim population, like Balkan organizations in Maçka also thirty three households responsible for road maintenance and repair were Christian citizens. Court Records given by C. Jennings also proves this fact.⁵⁴ According to Tax Books; in Maçka's Sameruksa Village one household, Galyan(e) Village one household, Elvaniye Village three households, Hacevera Village two households and Kongi Village two households there were nine Muslim households in total.⁵⁵ Court Records give information about a disagreement and solution of this disagreement between a Muslim and a Christian citizen living in Sameruksa Village.

Hanefi Bostan in his survey on Tax Books estimates Maçka's population in the year of 1486 as 9,580 people. This population consisted of; 9,535 Christian and 45 Muslim citizens.⁵⁶ According to the above mentioned figures, contrary to arguments, twenty five years after the conquest, the Christian population in Maçka region were preserving their faith and population density. According to Tax Books of the year of 1515; the population of Maçka increased about up to 11,474 people, of which 11,289 people were Christian and 185 people were Muslim citizens.⁵⁷ Between the years of 1486-1515 while Christian population increased rapidly the rise of the Muslim population is very limited being less than 1% of total. All those population movements mostly were related to trade routes and closely affected the Soumela Monastery. Having crowded surrounding villages, donations and trade routes' activity were causing large rises in Monastery's incomes.

According to Comprehensive Tax Books *Icmal Defterleri* registers; in the year of 1520 the population of Maçka was about 14,397 people, of this population's 525 people (3%) were Muslims.⁵⁸

Whilst in this five years the Muslim population had a 350 people rise, Christian population's rise was 2,583 people. According to Hanefi Bostan's surveys on Tax Books; between the years of 1520-1554, the Christian population had increased to 14,241 people whilst the Muslim population had increased by 894.⁵⁹ In 1583 registers we come across with Soumela in for first time, and in Tax Books Soumela is described as, the Church Soumela called wilderness settlement centre "*Kilisa-i Soumela adındaki kır iskan merkezi*". In this era, monks and other personnel of Soumela consisted of 0,45% of Maçka's population and in the Monastery there were

⁵³ Bostan, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

⁵⁴ Jennings, *op. cit.*, p. 597.

⁵⁵ Bostan, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 185.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 185-186.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 188.

sixty people lived.⁶⁰ In 19th century the census of Soumela shows rising numbers of monks.⁶¹ (Enclosure: I)

According to registers mentioned above; between 1515-1520 Maçka district's caravan tax revenue was 100 Akche. In 1554 the caravan tax revenue was also 100 Akche and some of caravan inns were located within the borders of Maçka. In 1583 the caravan tax revenue rises to 200 Akche.⁶² The rises of caravan tax revenues and vertical population movements are parallel. During the 16th century which has been enlighten by Tax Book registers there was probably large rises at the number of caravans and their freights passing from Maçka, thus Maçka's population had a continuing rise during this era. At that time, in Soumela there were sixty monks including other personnel which was a large number for those centuries. Monks of Soumela most probably were involved with caravan passages and trade running in the vicinity.

Despite domestic and external population movements between those years overlapping the 16th century's beginning and last decades, until the 19th century's end and beginning of the 20th century, we do not observe mass vertical population movements in Maçka district located on the Trabzon-Tabriz caravan route. Therefore, the density of the Christian population stayed the same throughout these years.

The last Ronald C. Jennings who had serious surveys on Trabzon Tax Books *Tahrir Defterleri* and Court Records *Ser'iyye Sicils* also says that; in the 17th and 18th centuries, orchards, hazelnut groves, olive groves, vineyards, beehives and pastures continued to dominate the rural landscape, characterized also by watermills, fountains and springs in the little district of Maçka. Judicial registers note the presence of vineyards, some farms possessing factories for making grape juice.⁶³ As a result of caravan routes in the vicinity of Soumela, commercial life connected to these routes, fertile lands, the realm of freedom provided by the Ottoman Empire, presence of densely populated Christians settlements, in this area numerous church and monasteries have been built. Ottoman Annual Books *Salnameler* belonging to the 20th century also confirms this data. According to data given by Annual Books; at the beginning of the 20th century in Maçka region which was also known as *Cevizlik* (Walnut grove), there were over 500 hundred churches, monasteries and chapels.⁶⁴

The same is on the slope of mountains to the Gümüşhane side; there were churches, monasteries and large Christian villages, the most important villages among them were Kurum, Stavri and Imera. Stavri lies in one of the side valleys of the Yağlıdere (Kurum) River which run parallel to each other and lie to the north of, and at right angles to the river. The main valley forks north-east to Kurum, some twelve kilometers east of Stavri and East to Imera three kilometers further on. Buildings at those large settlements appeared to be from the medieval age and it is known that, Comnenus Kings of Trabzon State in the medieval ages had built castles in Kurum to

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA) No 1101 Book: 1835 dated census Registration Book.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 447-448.

⁶³ Jennings, *op. cit.*, p. 583.

⁶⁴ *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi*, 1904, C. 22, Transkripsiyon Kudret Emiroğlu, (Ankara: Trabzon İli ve İlçeleri Eğitim, Kültür ve Sosyal Yardımlaşma Vakfı Yayınları, 2009), p. 259.

guard the most popular trade route passing from there.⁶⁵ Differing from Stavri and Imera, Kurum has an important copper mine and this importance has been underlined in Annual Books.⁶⁶ According to Annual Books, at the beginning of the 19th centuries Kromnitos had constructed a larger and comfortable road between their settlement and Maçka.⁶⁷ At this point, it is vital to focus on Kurum which was situated on the most important summer trade route, which also was the nearest and largest settlement to Soumela.

Anthony Bryer and David Winfield throughout fieldworks they arranged recent decades, ignoring all records and historical documents some time clearly sometime tacitly argue that, all Christian people in the region were Greek originated. Both carry out their argument saying that; Muslims in this region at present are the descendants of Greeks.⁶⁸ Almost all orientalist studied this region put forward above mentioned arguments and turn blind eyes to realities undermining or contradicting their ideas. Nevertheless the realities are beyond different; orientalist historians deliberately or inadvertently ignore Baptism Registers of the Vazelon Monastery which was the baptism place for all Christians at the vicinity. If they had taken a look to these registers they would obviously see numerous names written down in the Baptism Books that etymologically do not have any relation with Greek or Greeks.

Rustem Shukurov who worked on Baptism Registers of the Vazelon Monastery, says that; among the names in Books Turkic tribe names are more than other ethnic groups. The names Koumanos and Khzaros possibly belong to any newcomer from the North and most likely, from the Crimea or Dashti Qipchag region. Due to mass Christianization of Turkish tribes, Greek language spoken in the region also came under the effect of Turkish.⁶⁹ Shukurov and other neutral surveys show that, contrary to the arguments of Anthony Bryer, Heath W. Lowry⁷⁰ and other orientalist historians, Greeks in the region have not been Islamized and then Turkified, during the period before the conquest of Ottomans it were Turkish tribes mostly Christianized and became Greek, in other words melted within Rum citizens.⁷¹

It is almost impossible to deny interaction among people living in the region between Macka and Gümüşhane where at that era located on the crossroads of highly active trade routes and was one of the main passages for several civilizations. In this area there absolutely were people from several nations Islamized and became Turk by the time meanwhile historical documents and evidences also prove the fact that, there absolutely were Turkish tribes Christianized and forgetting their own national roots

⁶⁵ Bryer and others., *op. cit.*, Part- I, pp. 268, 287.

⁶⁶ Sabri Özcan San, *Trabzon Salnamelerinde Gümüşhane Sancağı*, No:3 (Gümüşhane Valiliği Yayını), p. 104.

⁶⁷ *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi*, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

⁶⁸ Bryer and others., *op. Cit.*, Part-I, pp. 268-287.

⁶⁹ Rustam Shukurov, *Turkish Speaking Byzantines of the Pontos*, Trabzon Tarihi Sempozyumu Bildirileri, 06-08 Kasım 1998, 2. Baskı, (Trabzon: Trabzon Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları, 2000), pp. 102-104.

⁷⁰ Heath W. Lowry, *Trabzon Şehrinin İslamlaşması ve Türkleşmesi 1461-1583*, (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2005).

⁷¹ Bostan, *op. cit.*, pp. 347, 545.

became Greek. Contrary to the arguments leaded by Bryer and other some orientalisists, etymological surveys show that, names of densely populated settlements are not Greek, actually Turkish originated. For instance in Maçka some village settlements densely populated by Christians namely; Hortokop, Guzari, Çali, Varyan, Zavera, Çin, Şemseddin, Virane are clearly Turkish names and have been named by Turkish tribes.⁷² Also, the name of a settlement which in Turkish called “Krom”, in English and Greek sources “Kurum” is the name of one of the Turkish tribes, a society from Göklen Turks. Meanwhile historical documents show that; “Krum=Kurum” was the name of one of the Bulgar Turk Khans.⁷³ Thus, it is obvious that Christian people, by Bryer’s words, *crypto-Christians* domiciled in Kurum settlement were not Greeks, contrarily it is most highly probable that they were mostly Turks.

Also; the music instrument *kemençe* which is one of the basic instruments of Black Sea folklore and Greeks trying to owe, is the music instrument of Koumanos/Cuman Turks and the local play performed in Trabzon accompanied by this instrument at present with same figures and acts is played by Gökoğuz, with today’s name, Gagauzia Turks living in Balkans showing that both coming from same Turkish tradition.⁷⁴ It is possible to multiply above samples but this work’s aim is not to unearth ethnic origins of people living or had lived in this area, actually this is not necessary. I only would like to underline the fact that; contrary to orientalist historians’ arguments, large part of people living in this area despite were Christians; obviously were not Greek originated. As some historians argued; if as believed people living in the Black Sea area were/are descendants of Argonauts or colonialists who had come these coasts in the 8th centuries BC⁷⁵, rising of this population rates onto today’s rates are impossible. Even for a moment we do not take into account epidemics, wars, raids and other natural disasters which all were negative multipliers of population increases at that times, Greeks whose population numbers is known at that ages, could not establish sovereignty on a so large area and their achievement of so large population numbers are still impossible. The only reason of rising was immigrations not from sea but inlands which were covered by Turkish tribes migrated from Central Asia and Caucasus setting out to Anatolia.

Actually it is not an important subject what are the ethnic origins of people living in the area, they had succeeded to live in peace throughout centuries and most probably if not being agitated by deliberate propagandas during last century the existing peace would go on without any interruption. By Population Exchange because they were Christians *Karamanid* Turks had been sent to Greece and all forgetting their descendant ethnic roots melted among Greeks at presents so as, Greek originated citizens who were Muslims and out of exchange because of this all melted in the society they live. With rootless and biased arguments agitating these people and breaking solidarity between them I think a crime committed against humanity.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 341-342.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 345.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 350

⁷⁵ Estin and Laporte, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-191.

The Empire of Ottomans had never evaluated her citizens regarding their ethnic origins; moreover including Maçka all around her soils established freedom of people to worship their faith and live according to this faith in peace. Being an Islamic state, in Ottoman Empire, regardless to ethnic origin, when became Muslim all citizens' vertical movements always had been encouraged and there were no glass barriers connected to national identity. Blood lineage only were necessary for Sultanate and except throne each Ottoman citizen had to right and chance to be Grandvizier which was equivalent to today's prime ministry.

Let's put ethnic argumentations aside and focus on commerce network at the vicinity of Soumela; Altındere village settlement where some parts are national park at present is located to the northeast of Soumela. Large parts of settlement named Sameruksa by Tax Books at present within the borders of Altınere village. Because decreasing numbers of its residents Altındere village almost covered by forests whilst until Population Exchange it had large corn, wheat and barley fields and the village settlements were encompassing whole slopes at opposite side of the valley. At a point of this village we may say the middle, there is a medium sized church obviously built by Khorasan Mortar. It is with four central columns one aisle barrel vaulted, is still survived and inscription on the northern door gives the building date 1876, in 1930's it was used as mosque and during this era its paintings have been covered by whitewash. It is highly probable that it was built at the place of a former church, have one long aisle in the direction of east west, in basilica style and the long barrel vault pitched on four ornamented columns.

The apse at the east side has been demolished and a straight wall has been built at the place of apse when it was converted into a mosque. Eyewitnesses say that, there was paintings on the demolished apse, the church is twelve meters length east to west, eight meters width has been built by cut stone, the thickness of walls about one meter. It has two entrances one to north and other west, its barrel vaulted roof covered by tiles. The building's windows like other buildings' windows in this area, their outer sides are rectangular and narrow, inside surfaces arched below sides built by about seventy degree sloping angle. Ornaments and simple painting tracks are still visible at frame borders. Differing from traditional chapel and church architecture, the building has been built rectangular, its stone works and architecture are similar to the buildings in Kurum valley. Its attractive north door which was demounted and stolen in the year of 2008 had been ornamented with grape vines.

On the ceiling the painting survived at present is *Theotoks* Mother of God with the Child and *Pantacrator* Christ, figures are partly visible from underneath of whitewash. Also on the ceiling, similar to ornaments in Kurum Valley, there twelve circled shaped borders ornamented with leaves and dodecahedron shaped circles. Taking into account dense Christian population in this area and active trade routes between Gümüşhane and Maçka, it is obviously clear that there was an active relation, communication network, connection between Kurum, Imera and Stavri cities which located on the southern slopes and Soumela Monastery located on the northern slope in a cliff face.

Due to fact that when compared with Trabzon, Gümüşhane has more strict and powerful connections with central Anatolia, it is highly probable that Gümüşhane had been Christianized before Trabzon. Despite lack of information as to whether the valley, Soumela situated was a cult area or not, before Soumela's establishment, nevertheless it is obvious that there were trade routes passing from this valley before the Monastery's establishment because the area had located on crossroads. Therefore, the founder monks of Soumela, according to tales, St. Barnabas and Sofronios from Athens had come this area via passing Kolat-Kurum destination or they had been supported by Christians and monks living in Kurum area. The area Kolat where camel caravan inns built is located on the edge between Soumela and Kurum. Considering above data we may arrive a conclusion that before Soumela's establishment there should be a watchtower at the area where the Monastery has been established.

In the opposite slopes of Soumela, to the left of the newly built second bridge where frontage of Soumela is visible there was a small chapel. The chapel is partly visible and mostly ruined at present, located in ten minutes walking distance from the bridge. It had been located symmetrically linear opposite side of St. Barbara chapel and anyone here could watch Soumela's entrance gate easily. The chapel's architecture, selection of place and situation resemble to Cappadocian style. At present there are remnants of frescoes inside, the style is similar to the Cave temple's third layer. The said chapel is located in the middle of a rock face, is in two meters length built on a narrow flat area is about one and half meters width. I think it has been built or used with observance aims, is about four meters higher than the ground and it is impossible to access in without usage of a ladder. It is high probably used for both security of Soumela and safety of trade route passing nearby. It is like an aerie resembles small churches built on rock tops in Cappadocia. The chapel hidden behind pine and bay trees nevertheless sharing other buildings' fate at the vicinity, has been pillaged and demolished. Though it has been demolished by treasure hunters, its barrel vaulted roofing and masonry to the west, and the Christ painting on the apse partly survived. Being on a lonely spot, it has been also used by monks for worshipping.

Existence of above mentioned chapel/watch tower situated onto the opposite southern east slopes of Soumela also proves the argument that there should be small watch towers and chapels in this area before establishment of Soumela. If we ignore the highways of today, it is meaningless to climb up this inaccessible cliff face to build only a Monastery. Nevertheless, without usage of existing routes, the arrival to Soumela would take at least one week. Arrival to Soumela by passing from Kurum and Kolat inns was much easier and the Monastery was same time ensuring the safety of the trade routes bypassing.

As we do not have any documents related to this period, what we told about this era are all improvable observations. But this probability must be taken into account and we must not overlook some connections. It is wondered whether the two reputed founder monks of the monastery and the monks who developed the facility afterwards were in close contact with the monasteries and the monks in the region using ancient Karaağaç-Hancüka-Acısü-Kolat-Stavri or Karaağaç-Hancüka-Acısü-Kolat-Kurum routes even in earlier times. It is not clear whether the road passing

through the region was just used in the spring and summer months and that old road was used before St. Andreas introduced Christianity to the region in the 3rd century.⁷⁶ Those are the questions never to be answered exactly but should be defined as they are the questions of great historical importance in terms of life and trade route passing from Altındere Valley.

Today it is possible to reach Soumela Monastery in motor vehicles in an hour. Although we do not know much about how to reach the monastery in its early days when it was built it must have been reached after a tiring and long journey we disregard the available highways built in the early days of the 20th century, unlike today's highways, the mentioned macadamized roads passing through the hills and slopes were being used to reach the Soumela Monastery, not the road passing along the Meryemana stream.

Transportation from Gümüşhane side was either via Kurum ancient city especially in spring and summer months or via ancient trade routes passing over the sites where Kurum inns were.⁷⁷ Karaağaç and Hançüka postures above the Soumela Monastery where shortcut passed over were connected with the Soumela Monastery and there are still remnants of old wall and buildings in both plateaus. If you take the road on the left of the entrance stairs of the Soumela Monastery at the end of the aqueduct, it will lead you to the Karaağaç plateau at an altitude of 1650 meters. If one continues from the north of the plateau, will reach Kurum and Kolat inns where there are still remnants of macadamized roads. Build in the appropriate width for horses and reinforced sporadically with the walls, this road is a shortcut providing connection between the Soumela and Kurum, Kolat, Imera, Santa and Stavri. Not being appropriate for camel caravans, it is shorter than the ancient trade route passing south of the Soumela Monastery. If one continue the road from Karaağaç plateau after following the way mentioned above and having the ancient trade route to the left, one can reach Hançüka, Camiboğazı and Acıgöl plateaus and arrive at the ancient Kolat camel inns which were used as caravan route at the joint place of Kurum and Stavri ancient roads at an altitude of 2300 meters.

Anthony Bryer states that the road leading to Kurum ancient city from the Soumela Monastery reaches Camiboğazı between two streams after some curvings and that the mentioned road is about ten hours horse riding.⁷⁸ The road mentioned by Bryer is the ancient trade road passing over Cevlik plateau and convenient for camels and shorter than the road reaching Karaağaç plateau from the Soumela Monastery.

According to Bryer, it is possible to reach Stavri, Kurum and Imera from Camiboğazı which is the peak point between Gümüşhane and Maçka and it takes about six and a half hours to Gümüşhane. Bryer states that it took medieval merchants and travelers three days from Baiburt to Trabzon.⁷⁹ The route Bryer wrote about

⁷⁶ *Trabzon Vilayeti Salnamesi 1869*, C. 16, Transkripsiyon, Kudret Emiroğlu, (Ankara: Trabzon İli ve İlçeleri Eğitim, Kültür ve Sosyal Yardımlaşma Vakfı Yayınları, 2007), p. 329.

⁷⁷ Arslan, *op. cit.*, 2008

⁷⁸ Bryer and others., *op. cit.*, Part: I, p. 283.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

proves our findings and the information given by local residents Aziz Tüfek and Mersin Yıldırım born here in 1930's. As Bryer said, after arriving at Camiboğazı, it was possible to reach Gümüşhane by using one of the routes to Kurum, Imera or Stavri. In addition to this, it was possible for those coming from inner Anatolia via Erzurum-Baiburt route to reach Kolat inns by following one of these ancient trade routes and then Soumela Monastery via track path.

On the other hand, the route mentioned here intersects ancient trade route passed over Kurum and used in the summer months. The ancient trade route located in the Trabzon direction of Altındere valley and whose popularity continued until the late 1900's passed about one kilometers south of the Soumela Monastery. The cobblestoned camel roads and the chapel remnants which were aforementioned are located above the bridge where a ropeway was built to carry restoration materials to the monastery in recent years. It is most likely that the chapel used to be a watch tower as we mentioned before. Today almost invisible stone roads are known very well by the local residents who are over fifty years old. According to what is being said by the local residents there used to be a stone bridge collapsed a few years ago but was used for a long time over the stream in the Altındere Valley on the northern side of Camiboğazı. Trade route was passing over Cevlik plateau upper parts of the stone bridge and there are still cobblestoned roads in this plateau.

The road passing near highway which is being used to get the plateaus, used to reach the end of asphalt. This road, named Kaderefke, used to reach the inns at the end of the asphalt. There used to be inns called *Hanın Suyu* Inn's River in the place where the mosque on the right is located about one kilometer from the entrance of Altındere National Park before the rest place located at the end of the asphalt road large vehicles can drive up to. According to information given by two villagers Mersin Yıldırım and Aziz Tüfek, near to at present's mosque building there had been camel inns at that place named Inn's River *Hanın Suyu* and the caravan route was partly one meters width, cobblestoned leading toward uphill with a soft bank. The said route first was passing by large meadows which were named *Yeniköy* New Village due to fact that the area has been afforested during the beginning of the 19th centuries and was leading to another before said large meadow named *Çevirme encircled* where was situated between Altındere Village and Saveriksa Postures. There are wall remnants visible in the said meadow at present. The two villagers say that, there were several chapel, church, house and settlement remnants throughout this route. (Enclosure: II)

Conclusions

Trabzon was an important center and trade routes started from the city were marching to inner Asia throughout centuries. The Monastery of Soumela played an important role on the way of one alternative caravan routes, especially for summer carriages. The monks and villagers living in the vicinity very well benefited from the trade went on around them. Field studies I carried out with village residents who know the area very well confirm the information mentioned above. However, a large

part of the antique trade route has disappeared either because of remaining under newly opened roads after 1958 or not being used for a long time.

The place where the camel inns used to be, is the most important proof that the antique trade route used especially in summer and spring, which Murat Arslan said passed through Iskopol plateau down Cevlik mountain pass went through this area.⁸⁰ The place named River's Inns *Hanın Suyu* where the camel inns existed is the starting point of the zig zag path leading to the Soumela Monastery.

The lime and tile pits of Soumela Monastery which were used for a long time and existing above the camel inns can still be seen today. Tiles made from clay soil and used as roofing were obtained by melting rocks of lime stone characteristic. While the roofing of all buildings remaining from this period is tile, lime stone obtained from the aforementioned pits has been used as the basic building material. Lime was one of the most important elements of Khorasan mortar used rather frequently in the construction of the buildings in the region. As the construction activities in the monastery continued periodically and the rock particles falling off the rock mass especially in the autumn and winter months caused damages to the different parts of the complex from time to time, the need for tile and lime never came to an end. Lime and tile known well to have been used for the reparations of the monastery, were also used in the construction of bridge, house and church in the valley to provide the monastery with money.

The trade route continuing from the camel inns to the north, towards Trabzon, was leading to the summer village of Yazlık Köyü *Livera* by passing over Altındere *Skalita* village, and down the Saveriksa plateau. At the end point of Altındere village, on the very track below Saveriksa plateau, there are two abandoned buildings one of which is a lime pit and other of which cannot be distinguished whether it is inn or church. These remnants approximately one kilometer away from mentioned place, named Çevirme, were built at the ridge point viewing both north and South. The information given by the local residents proves that the caravan route was leading to the Yazlık Village where metropolitan stayed and held the administration of the churches and monasteries.

On the antique trade road between Altındere, the nearest village and charitable foundation to the Soumela Monastery, Yazlık Village, there are many settlements, vast meadows, lime pits, a church and chapels. I myself tried to visit the church, chapel and inn-like buildings whose traces are still visible today. It must have been inevitable for the monks residing in the Soumela Monastery not to get involved in trade transactions around. This antique trade route which had been in use from the early ages on not only contributed to an enriching Kurum ancient city but also enabled the Monastery to become a huge complex. Except the remnants of the buildings whose intended use cannot fully be understood, no written record has been found. Therefore, the information gathered from the people who are at home with the area, namely Osman Tüfek, one of the early teachers of the district, Aziz Tüfek and Ali Tüfek, who once stayed in Germany, Mersin Yıldırım, the eldest person in the

⁸⁰ Arslan, *op. cit.*, 2008.

village remembering seventy five years ago, and Kemal Yıldırım, the village imam is significant. They passed down some information about caravan routes, inns, church remnants, wells made with tiles and lime, which is of vital importance for the history. In the light of their accounts, important conclusions regarding the remnants of historical buildings and settlements, agriculture and trade life in Altındere, could be drawn. In the information given about Soumela Monastery and the complex around it, there is discontinuity between the period between 1923 population exchange and the housing carried out in 1929-1930 in Altındere Village. That is why the knowledge gathered from local residents is of great importance.

In accordance with the treaty signed in Lausanne on August 1923, the Greeks living in the antique settlements of Altındere, Kurum, Stavri and Imera, including the Monastery of Soumela, its surroundings and in the other villages had to abandon Turkey. After Christian community of Trabzon left, the negotiations on the swapping terms of Lausanne Treaty between Turkey and Greece which started in 1924 were only concluded in 1925 due to the disagreements hard to tackle on the possessing of those subjected to swapping process.⁸¹ After Population Exchange, the first people to have been settled by the government in the village of Altındere, which was empty until the year 1929, were those who were left homeless due to the flood which occurred in the vicinity of Sürmene and Of provinces on July 5-7, 1929 and claimed a lot of lives.⁸² Before that living a nomadic life, the indwellers of Karlık Village used to inhabit some districts of Altındere Village, particularly the quarter of the Topeleç. What the region indwellers relate substantiates the fact that in the 1930's there were a larger number of deserted houses and that the crops such as corn, wheat and barley were grown.

In addition, according to what the region indwellers say, Karlık Villagers, who were angry with the government since they had been made to abandon their villages, where the sufferers from Sürmene and Of were settled, set the houses they used on fire. After that, as the trade routes changed their directions, Altındere village became smaller and the majority of the houses became disused wall remnants after being deserted. Due to this, it is not possible to find sound inn, church and house remnants in the site.

⁸¹ Mehmet Gönübol, Cem Sar and others. *Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası (1919-1995)*, 9. Baskı, (Ankara: Siyasal Kitabevi Yayını, 1996), pp. 63-69.

⁸² Hikmet Öksüz, “Çaykara’da Afete Bağlı Göç (1929-1973)”, *Karadeniz Tarihi Sempozyumu (25-26 Mayıs 2005)*, II. Cilt, (Trabzon: Karadeniz Teknik Üniversitesi Yayını, 2006), pp. 1006-07.

L'ÉGLISE SAINTE SOPHIE DE TRÉBIZONDE – UN REPERE DANS L'ARCHITECTURE RELIGIEUSE BYZANTINE

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Rezumat: Monumentul istoric prezentat în paginile următoare este considerat de specialiști un adevărat reper în arhitectura ecleziastică bizantină.

Biserica Sf. Sofia din Trapezunt, restaurată la mijlocul secolului XX de specialiști din Marea Britanie, este astăzi un punct de atracție pentru istorici, dar și pentru turiști prin mesajul istoric, artistic, iconografic și teologic transmis de programul iconografic unic pentru secolul al XIII-lea, în care a fost înălțată.

Abstract: The historical monument presented in this study is considered by specialists a true landmark in the Byzantine ecclesiastical architecture.

The Church of St. Sophia in Trabzon, restored in the mid-twentieth century by specialists from the UK, is now a real attraction not only for historians, but also for tourists because an unique historical, artistic, iconographic and theological message. Basically, this message is given by an iconography program from the 13th century.

Résumé: L'article ci-joint présente un repère dans l'architecture religieuse byzantine: il s'agit de l'Église Sainte Sofia de Trébizonde, l'ancienne capitale de l'empire. Après avoir présenté les diverses phases de construction et restauration, l'auteur y présente quelques données sur la tour clocher, la tourelle, la peinture de l'édifice ecclésiastique, le programme iconographique du narthex et de la nef.

Keywords: Sainte Sophie de Trébizonde, Sainte Sophie de Constantinople, Alexios Comnène, crusade, religious architecture, mural painting

En avril 1204, la IV-ème Croisade a réalisé la fameuse et triste *devastatio constantinopolitana*, le pillage de Constantinople de ses reliques saintes. Après l'occupation de la ville de Constantinople en 1204 par les croisés, Alexios Comnène, le petit-fils du basileus Andronic I Comnène et du roi George III de Géorgie, s'est enfoui avec son frère dans la ville de Trébizonde, sur la côte de la Mer Noire, où, à l'aide de sa tante, Tamara de Géorgie, a mis les bases d'un Etat entre Soterioupolis et Sinope, qui comprenait l'ancien Pont Polemoniac tout entier et qui se déployait vers l'est jusqu'à Phasa, malgré les attaques des souverains de Nicée et des Turcs seldjoukides¹. N'oublions pas qu'on se trouve dans la période du pape Innocence III²,

¹ Charles Diehl, *Istoria Imperiului bizantin (Histoire de l'Empire byzantin)* Craiova, 1999, p. 195 et les suivantes; Voir largement les ouvrages relativement récentes dédiés à l'histoire de cet empire: Ostrogorsky, George *History of the Byzantine State*, Oxford, 1968; Whiting,

le pape qui inaugurerait à Rome une nouvelle politique envers l'Orthodoxie, considérée *hérétique*. La dernière a pris des mesures de séparation de l'Occident. Dès cette époque-là, les Byzantins ne se nomment plus *Romains*; jusqu'à cette époque-là, ils étaient appelés avec le terme *Romaioi*, leur empire était une *romaiki basileia*, comme en Occident, il y avait un *Imperium Romanorum*. Il est apparu l'idée que les Byzantins sont les descendants des Grecs, ils sont des *graikoi*, leur patrie est une Helas; de cette manière, est apparu le mythe des Byzantins provenus des Grecs antiques, les descendants de Pericle.

Les basileus de Trébizonde se sont intitulés dès le début *Mégas Comnène* et premièrement, ils ont été nommés, aussi, *empereur des Romains*, parce qu'ils se considéraient les descendants de droit des basileus byzantins, mais le long du temps, ce titre a été cédé au basileus de Constantinople, le titre de celui de Trébizonde étant remplacé avec *Basileus et Autocrate sur l'Est tout entier, sur l'Iberia (Caucase, pas l'Espagne) et auprès les provinces Transmarines*.

La ville de Trébizonde, une des plus belles villes de l'Orient et un des plus grands marchés du monde – qui allait devenir pendant deux siècles et demi capitale d'empire – se trouve au-dessus du Pont Euxin, parmi les courants d'eau courante et les bois dont on peut voir aujourd'hui seulement les traces, extrêmement riche par le commerce qu'il faisait avec l'intérieur de l'Asie, est restée même jusqu'aujourd'hui célèbre par son luxe³.

Sur le plateau qui dominait le littoral, le palais des basileus de Trébizonde était, comme décrivaient les contemporains, une merveille d'élégance et de grandeur, et le renom de la ville de *tête et œil de l'Asie toute entière* était répandu dans le monde oriental. Fascination, repère spirituel, séduction. Ce sont les termes qui décrivent la manière dans laquelle on a regardé le Byzance, en général, et la Trébizonde, en spécial, dans l'histoire du vieux continent. Cette fascination est donnée, aussi, par les monuments ecclésiastiques byzantins de l'ancienne capitale de l'Empire de Trébizonde, une place tout à fait particulière l'occupant l'église Sainte Sophie.

D'ailleurs, l'Anatolie abrite trois églises qui ont comme patronne spirituelle Sainte Sophie. La première est la plus célèbre cathédrale byzantine – *Sainte Sophie de Constantinople* – un chef d'œuvre architectural⁴, suivie par l'église *Sainte Sophie de Nicée (Iznik)*, construite au VI-ème siècle par le basileus Justinien lui-même⁵.

Philip, *Byzantium an Introduction*, Oxford, 1981; Brezeanu, Stelian, *O istorie a Imperiului bizantin (Une histoire de l'Empire byzantin)* București, 1981; Dașkov, S.A., *Împărați bizantini (L'empereurs byzantins)* București, 1999; Warren Treadgold, *O scurtă istorie a Bizanțului (Une brève histoire de Byzance)* București 2003; Maria Georgescu, *Istoria Bizanțului (Histoire de Byzance)* Târgoviște, 2007.

² Claudio Rendina, *I papi, storia e segreti volume primo*, Roma 2005, p. 441- 450.

³ Charles Diehl, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

⁴ L'église Sainte Sophie a ses débuts dans une première basilique construite par Constantin le Grand (324 – 337) l'année 325 et transformée l'année 537 par les architectes byzantins Antemios de Tralles et Isidor de Milet, à l'aide d'approximativement 10.000 travailleurs constructeurs, tailleurs en pierre, artisans de mosaïques apportés de tous les provinces de l'empire de l'époque de Justinien. A la fin de la construction, Justinien aurait exclamé

La troisième église *Sainte Sophie* est *Sainte Sophie de Trébizonde* construite à l'époque du basileus Manuel I Mégas Comnène (1238-1263), plus précisément entre 1250-1260, à une distance de 1,5 km de la Cité Trébizonde, sur un promontoire rocheux à environ 500 m loin de la Mer Noire, un endroit où il y avait jadis un monastère⁶. Les recherches archéologiques effectuées dans cette zone ont découvert les traces d'un temple dédié à Apollo, des fragments de cette construction peuvent être observés dans le lapidaire aménagé dans la partie sud de l'église⁷.

L'église Sainte Sophie de Trébizonde est un des plus importants monuments architecturaux byzantins, restaurée entre 1958-1964 à l'aide des spécialistes d'Edinburgh University et Charity Directorate⁸. Dans la période où on a exécuté les travaux de recherche de la zone, à une très petite distance de l'actuelle église, sur la partie nord, on a fait sortir les traces d'une petite église en pierre avec un plan semblable à celui de l'*Eglise Sainte Ana*⁹ et de l'*Eglise Saint Andrei*¹⁰ de Trébizonde, des églises datées aux VI-VII siècles.

Salomon, je t'ai vaincu!, pensant biensûr au temple de Salomon qu'il aurait dépassé en grandeur. Le 29 mai 1453, les Ottomans ont conquis le Constantinople définitivement. La chute du Byzance a été nommée par le pape contemporain *la seconde mort de Platon et Homère*. Le sultan Mahomet II le Conquérant est entré à cheval dans l'Eglise Sainte Sophie, a pillé tout ce qu'on pourrait piller et a ordonné qu'elle soit transformée en mosquée, tout en ajoutant des éléments décoratifs de culte islamique.

⁵ L'église a été construite pour servir comme le principal édifice de culte dans la Nicée byzantine. Même si elle n'est pas grande ou tout à fait particulière du point de vue architectural, elle est importante pour le monde chrétien parce qu'en septembre – octobre 787 à cet endroit-ci se sont déployés les ouvrages du VII-ème Concile Œcuménique, auquel ont participé 35 évêques et moines de l'empire, synode convoqué par l'impératrice Irina, la régente de Constantin VI, avec l'appui du patriarche Tarasie. L'église ancienne de l'époque de Justinien s'est gardée jusqu'en 1065, lorsqu'elle a été détruite par un tremblement de terre. La nouvelle église a été édifiée sur le même endroit. Les Ottomans ont transformé l'église en mosquée immédiatement après avoir occupé la ville de Nicée en 1331.

⁶ D. T. Rice, *Trabzon Ayasofya sundaki Selcuklu Uslubunda Suslemeler*, Cev. Solmaz Turunc, Bir Tutudur Trabzon, Yapi Kredi Yaymlan I, Baski, Istanbul 1997, p. 72.

⁷ Ismail Kose, *Trabzon 4.000 yilic Mirasin Kutsal Izleri* (4.000 Years Heritage & Its Divine Traces), Trabzon 2009, p. 57.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 61.

⁹ Ismail Kose, *op. cit.*, p. 48-52. L'église Sainte Ane, datée aux VI-VII-ème siècles, a été restaurée par l'empereur Vasile I Le Macédonien, le fondateur de la dynastie macédoine de l'Empire Byzantin. L'action de restauration de cette église, effectuée entre 884 – 885 est consignée dans une inscription qu'on peut identifier même aujourd'hui à l'intérieur de l'église dans la nef, à droite de la porte d'entrée, où se trouve, aussi, le tableau votif qui représente le basileus. Il semble qu'il s'agit d'une des peu représentations iconographiques de Vasile I Le Macédonien, l'auteur moral des *Enseignements à son fils Léon*, connu dans l'histoire sous l'appellatif de Léon le Sage, un codex, un guide d'orientation dans son ouvrage difficile de diriger l'empire. Voir largement Daşkov, S. B., *op. cit.*, p. 209- 222; *Trabzon*, Trabzon, 2009, p. 44 et les suivantes. L'Eglise Sainte Ana n'a pas été transformée en mosquée, il s'agit seulement d'un objectif touristique du centre de la ville Trébizonde.

L'église actuelle a été édifiée en forme de croix, avec 4 colonnes en pierre qui soutiennent dans la nef la haute tourelle, polygonale à l'extérieur, circulaire à l'intérieur, prévue avec 12 fenêtres, ayant une longueur de 22 m, une largeur de 11,6 m, son hauteur étant de 12,7 m jusqu'à la base de la croix. Les trois exonarthex ouverts, situés sur les parties N, S et O donnent une note caractéristique au plan de cette église. L'abside de la nef est polygonale (pentagonale) à l'extérieur et demi-circulaire à l'intérieur, ayant d'une partie et de l'autre l'habituel prothesis et diaconikon bien individualisés dans l'abside de la nef.

Ce qui attire en spécial l'attention est la présence sur l'axe de l'église dans la partie supérieure de la nef, à l'extérieur, plus précisément au-dessus de la fenêtre centrale sur l'axe de la nef, ainsi que sur la partie extérieure de la clef de voûte de l'exonarthex de la partie sud, de l'emblème des Comnènes, l'aigle monocéphale¹¹, la tête dirigée à droite.

Les décorations sculpturales de l'extérieur de cette église ont attiré l'attention des spécialistes qui ont fait une liaison entre celles-ci et les décorations extérieures des églises *Saint Vladimir* de Souzdal de Russie et de l'église *Saint Dumitru* de Vladimir, datées 1195 – 1200¹².

D. T. Rice affirme que cette église a été construite à l'aide des navigateurs qui y venaient de la Mer Méditerranée avec leurs vaisseaux, pour remercier pour l'aide reçu de la part de Dieu pour leurs activités commerciales, pour la pêche ou pour une navigation facile¹³.

Après la conquête de Trébizonde par les ottomans conduits par le sultan Mehmed II, la construction a été transformée en 1511, comme beaucoup d'autres, en mosquée. Derviş Mehmed Zilli, connu aussi sous le nom d'Evliya Celebi¹⁴, un des plus connus voyageurs ottomans, dans son livre intitulé *Le livre des voyages (Seyahatname)*, en 10 volumes, source inestimable d'informations historiques, archéologiques, ethnographiques et géographiques, parle de la manière suivante: "*Hagia Sophia est auprès de la mer. Elle a été construite le long du temps par les infidèles; plus tard, le gouverneur de cet endroit avait informé le sultan sur cette construction et, ensuite, par une décision du sultan, elle a été transformée en mosquée et utilisée en ce but dès cette époque-là*".¹⁵

L'historien écossais, George Finley, après la visite qu'il a faite à l'*Eglise Sainte Sophie* de Trébizonde, ébloui par la beauté tout à fait particulière de cette église-ci,

¹⁰ L'Eglise Saint Andrei a été transformé au XVI-ème siècle en mosquée et est connue comme Molla Siyah Camii Şerifi.

¹¹ Les grands Comnènes de Trébizonde utilisaient comme emblème l'aigle ayant une seule tête et pas celle bicéphale. On sait que aigle bicéphale dans la héraldique représentait la division de l'Empire Romain en deux: d'Est et d'Ouest en 395 entre les deux fils de Théodose I le Grand: Honorius en Occident et Arcadius en Orient.

¹² D.T.Rice, *op. cit.*, p.73.

¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴ Zekeriya Kurşun, *Evliya Calebi Seyahatnamesinde Trabzon*, Bir Tutkudur Trabzon, Yapi Kredi Yayinlari, Istanbul, 1997, I, Baski. S., p. 216 - 217

¹⁵ *Ibidem*. Ismail Kose, *op.cit.* p. 61.

notait en 1850 dans son journal en manuscrit les mots suivants: "*le pavage d'au-dessus le dôme central de l'église est richement orné en couleurs et lignes courbes, extrêmement bien unies et prises avec ciment. C'est le véritable style byzantin, exécuté mieux qu'ailleurs*"¹⁶.

Pendant que l'église est arrivée, à cause des raisons pas encore identifiées, en état de ruine, elle a été restaurée par l'action initiée par Riza Efendi de Bursa en 1864. La construction a servi de dépôt et ensuite d'hôpital pendant la première guerre mondiale pour l'armée russe¹⁷, ensuite pour peu de temps, elle a été transformée de nouveau en mosquée et après la restauration de 1958-1962, elle est devenue muséifiée, un point d'attraction pour tous les touristes, mais aussi un endroit de relâche spirituel. Il est intéressant que, malgré sa transformation en mosquée, on ne lui a pas adossé un minaret, tout comme ni à l'*Eglise Sainte Ana* et ni à l'*Eglise Saint Andrei* de Trébizonde, on n'a pas construit de minarets.

La tour clocher

A une distance d'environ 25 m vers l'ouest de l'actuelle église se dresse fièrement *la tour clocher*, qui vu de loin rappelle les campanella vénitiennes construites approximativement durant la même période, pendant la première moitié du XV^e-ème siècle. Après le déchiffrement de l'inscription de la tour par G. Finley¹⁸, la tour haute de 40 m a été construite par Ioan IV Mégas Comnène (1429-1459), le fils d'Alexios IV Mégas Comnène (1416-1429),¹⁹ qui a voulu immortaliser son visage sur la partie sud de la tour dans une fresque située sous la niche demi-circulaire du premier étage de la tour.

Une autre interprétation de la fresque de la partie est de la *Tour clocher* est qu'à cet endroit seraient représentés *Alexios IV (1417-1429)*, son second fils, Alexandre et une fille²⁰.

La tradition consigne le fait que cette tour a été utilisée, aussi, comme *phare*, tenant compte de sa position; elle a été utilisée, aussi, comme *observateur astronomique*²¹. une description intéressante de cette *Tour* est due à Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer²², qui, après

¹⁶ G. Finley, *A history of Greece from the Roman Conquest to the Present Time*, ms. Apud Ismail Kose, *op. cit.*, p. 61-62. John Freely, *Turkie Uygurliklar Rehber 2, Marmara Etrafinda Karadeniz Kiysi Yapi Kredi Yayinlari, 4 Baski, Istanbul 2008*. 127.

¹⁷ Ismail Kose, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*. G. Finley considère que cette tour a été édifée entre 1426-1427.

¹⁹ John Freely, *Turkiye Uygurliklar...*, p. 127. G. Finley essaye à accréditer l'idée que dans le fragment de fresque extérieure de la partie sud de la Tour serait même Ioan IV Mégas Comnène.

²⁰ Milet G, D. T. Rice *Byzantine Painting at Trébizonde*, Published by Academie Des Inscriptions at Belles Lettres and University of London, 1st Published in 1939 s.p. 100.

²¹ Ismail Kose, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

²² Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer est né en Tyrol, il a reçu en 1823 une bourse d'études de *Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters* pour rechercher l'histoire de l'Empire Byzantin. Les résultats de ces études ont été publiés dans l'ouvrage *Geschichte des Kaisertums von Trapezunt*, Munchen 1827.

avoir déchiffré l'inscription peinte à l'intérieur de la tour affirmait: "*l'année y inscrit en concordance avec le calendrier byzantin est 6941, pendant que pour le calendrier moderne, celui-ci est 1433*"²³. La tour est prévue avec une échelle intérieure bien conservée, et dans sa partie supérieure, elle est prévue avec une grande fenêtre. Au premier étage de cette tour a fonctionné le long du temps une chapelle.

A l'intérieur de la tour, plus précisément à l'intérieur de la chapelle, peuvent être admirées même aujourd'hui des fresques extrêmement intéressantes comme *Deisis, la Transfiguration, l'Annonciation, la Naissance du Seigneur, la Présentation au Temple, la Dormition de la Mère de Dieu, la Résurrection de Lazare, l'Entrée en Jérusalem, la Crucifixion, l'Enterrement et la Résurrection*²⁴. Les fresques de l'intérieur de la tour ont été restaurées par les spécialistes de *Russell Trust* en 1961. De plus, il semble que le programme iconographique tout entier de la chapelle de la tour clocher a été exécuté par deux moines, vraiment *professionnels*²⁵ immédiatement après la fin de la construction. Il semble que les mêmes peintres ont intervenu, aussi, sur les fresques de l'église Sainte Sophie, surtout dans la zone du narthex et partiellement dans la zone de la nef.

Le XVII^e-ième siècle, un jeune moine de ce monastère a commencé à rassembler des manuscrits de la zone et ensuite a commencé la rédaction d'un véritable *Manuel* de peinture ecclésiastique, dans lequel on décrivait les scènes peintes sur les parois de cette tour²⁶ et biensûr les fresques peintes dans la grande église.

La peinture de l'église Sainte Sophie

Les fresques de l'*Eglise Sainte Sophie de Trébizonde*, peuvent être admirées même aujourd'hui, grâce à "*l'indulgence de l'Empire Ottoman*"²⁷ dans le sens que le moment où l'église a été transformée en mosquée, le sultan a ordonné que seulement les fresques soient couvertes avec une couche de crépi blanc, couche qui a été écartée pendant les travaux de restauration de la seconde moitié du XX^e-ième siècle.

Dans la zone de la nef, le mur de sud – dans la période où à cet endroit-ci a fonctionné la mosquée – est devenu *quiblah*, le mur devant lequel les Musulmans devaient pratiquer le *salah* – les cinq prières par jour qui appartiennent aux *Cinq Piliers de l'Islam* – l'endroit où on a fait mettre des inscriptions avec des passages et des versets du *Coran* – un de ces passages se garde même aujourd'hui dans l'exonarthex de sud – dans le but de faire connaître ces messages des livres saints de l'Islam²⁸. Un

²³ J. P. Fallmerayer, *Dogu'dan Fragmanlar*, Imge Kitabevi, Ceviren, Huseyin Salihoglu, I, Baski 2002, p. 96.

²⁴ M.B. Sakellariou, *Greek Lands in History Macedonia, 4000 Years of Greek History and civilization, Early Christian Art*, Ekdotike Athenon S.A. Athens 1994, p. 244-246. Milet G, D. T. Rice *Byzantine Painting...*, p. 102-106.

²⁵ Gabriel Millet, D. T. Rice, *Byzantine Painting at Trébizonde*, Published by Academie Des Inscriptions at Belles – Lettres and University of London, 1st Published in 1936. s.p- 95.

²⁶ Ibidem, p. 422, Ismail Kose, op. cit., p. 66-67.

²⁷ Ismail Kose, op. cit., p. 68.

²⁸ *Coran*, traduction S. Isopescu, București, 1994, Șura 72 vs. 18.

accessoire important du *quiblah* est le *mihrab*, qui consiste dans une niche centrale du mur avec le rôle d'indiquer la direction vers Mecca. Sur la même partie où se trouvait le *mihrab* se situait, aussi, le *minbar*, un espace important de la mosquée où, les jours de samedi, le *khatib* disait les prières et donnait des conseils. Les traces de ces aménagements peuvent être observées même aujourd'hui dans cette zone, manquée totalement d'un vêtement pictural.

Toujours dans la zone de la nef on garde dans le plancher une grande partie de la mosaïque originelle, d'une beauté extraordinaire. Les pierres multicolores gardent encore leurs couleurs vives de jadis. Lorsque le chercheur C. Texier a visité le Trébizonde, l'année 1836, il écrivait: "*Le mosaïque merveilleux du centre du plancher de l'église Sainte Sophie peut être considéré vraiment un des plus extraordinaires exemples de mosaïques byzantins en marbre, qui ont résisté jusque aujourd'hui*"²⁹.

Le Programme iconographique du narthex de l'Eglise Sainte Sophie

L'organisation iconographique des murs de l'*Eglise Sainte Sophie* est si claire qu'on pourrait croire qu'à l'élaboration du programme on a eu en vue le rapport fondamental – en plan symbolique – qui doit exister entre l'église en mur, avec ses parures et l'église universelle.

Dans les textes des trois sermons qui circulaient dans la seconde moitié du IX-ème siècle en Byzance, on précisait qu'en toute église construite devait figurer le palais de Jésus Christ comme souverain, l'édifice étant en même temps, une petite représentation de l'univers où se trouvait le royaume de Dieu³⁰. D'y découle une complexe codification symbolique des formes architectoniques et de la décoration peinte, avec l'intention précise de situer le fidèle dans un état de grâce, pour communiquer avec la *Vérité*.

Comme remarquait A. Grabar, le procédé supposait l'installation dans l'édifice – univers de Dieu, des anges, des chérubins, des séraphins et des hommes. Car comme tout Etat, l'*Eglise* se définit soi-même par topographie et par population. La particularité de la formule byzantine, comme elle s'est cristallisée au IX-ème siècle, consiste dans le fait que l'édifice de culte délimite un endroit sacré, pendant que les images – les peintures murales – reflètent la composition et l'hierarchie de la société sainte, faisant visible ses apprentissages³¹.

Le Thème de l'Annonciation ayant en vue la forme de l'espace a été peinte sur l'arche ouest du narthex, au-dessus de la porte d'entrée dans la nef. La Vierge est présentée assise sur le trône. On fait construire pour les rois et les empereurs de la terre, qui règnent seulement quelques années et restent en histoire, s'ils n'entrent pas dans l'histoire, des trônes avec des pierres précieuses. Pour la Vierge, comme signe de l'humilité absolue, les peintres ont fait un trône simple. Dans la partie droite de la

²⁹ Charles Texier, *L'Architecture byzantine ou recueil de monuments des premiers temps du christianisme en Orient*, Londres 1864 (avec R.T. Pullar).

³⁰ Le premier des trois sermons cités a été rédigé par le patriarche oecuménique Photios. A. Grabar, *L'Iconoclasme byzantine*, Paris, 1984, p. 245.

³¹ A. Grabar, *op. cit.*, p. 245-246.

Sainte Vierge Marie est peint l'Archange Gabriel, habillé d'un manteau grisâtre, qui lui dit „*Réjouis, toi, qui est pleine de grâce, le Seigneur est avec toi*” (Luca, 1.28). Les ailes de l'Archange Gabriel ont été peintes exceptionnellement, tout en utilisant dans la scène tout l'espace disponible. La bonne nouvelle pour le genre humain toute entier ne vient pas avec bruit, mais sous la forme de la discrétion totale et reste à la libre acception de celle-ci qui s'est soumise au nom de l'humanité toute entière, prononcée par un seul mot *Qu'il soit*. A ce moment-là, elle a été enrichie avec le don de la prophétie, parce qu'elle a répondu à la vénération d'Elisabeth *Voilà, dès ce moment, tous les peuples me respecteront*” (Luc 1, 48). La Vierge est présentée assise sur le trône, soulignant de cette manière, sa supériorité devant l'archange.

Au-dessus de la porte de l'entrée se trouve pourtant un espace sans peinture. Il semble que celle-ci a été écartée, on peut observer seulement des traces superficielles dans la partie supérieure, qui ont été interprétés par Charles Texier comme traces de la représentation iconographique d'Alexios III Mégas Comnène, celui qui a dirigé la Trébizonde entre 1349 - 1390, le basileus étant représenté avec le globe impérial à la main, portant un diadème blanc sur son front³².

Immédiatement sous la scène de l'Annonciation, d'une partie et de l'autre de la porte d'accès dans la nef, est peint le visage de Christ, respectivement de la Vierge; tous les deux ont les visages effacés, la partie d'en bas des deux représentations est décapée, évidemment par destruction mécanique. Au-dessus du visage du Sauveur Christ peuvent être observées les lettres IC XC. Le Sauveur porte sur ses épaules un manteau couleur bleu foncé, dans la main gauche il tient la Sainte Evangile ouverte, pendant que la main est tendue vers la porte d'entrée. Au-dessus le visage de la Vierge peuvent être déchiffrées les lettres MP OY, (*MITERA THEU*); la main gauche est tendue vers la porte d'accès.

Au centre de la voûte du narthex sont peints les visages des quatre évangélistes, ainsi que leurs symboles accompagnés par des visages de chérubins et séraphins; tout est entouré des couleurs de l'arc en ciel, d'une manière tout à fait particulière.

Sur la paroi est du narthex dans la partie gauche de la porte d'accès, vers l'extérieur, est peint le thème du *Baptême du Seigneur* ou *l'Epiphanie*. Tout en regardant avec attention la représentation iconographique, on découvre dans la partie d'en haut un demi-cercle, qui symbolise les ciels ouverts. Du ciel se répandent des rayons de lumière sur le Sauveur Christ et à leur but, on voit descendre le Saint Esprit sous forme de pigeon. Avec un talent tout à fait particulier, l'iconographe, fin connaisseur de la Sainte Ecriture, a représenté les eaux de Jordan, que Jésus Christ avait sanctifié avec son baptême. Les rives de la rivière sont hautes, veillées par des roches qui augment l'impression d'accessibilité difficile. Du visage du Sauveur, on peut distinguer aujourd'hui seulement la partie supérieure, parce que le reste a été détruit par action mécanique. De la partie droite du Sauveur est peint Saint Jean le Baptiseur, avec la main tremblante comme essayant à toucher la tête du Maître. Il tient l'autre main en position de prière pour exprimer la peur que la volonté de Dieu qu'il soit son baptiseur lui avait provoqué. Derrière Saint Jean le Baptiseur est peint un arbre à la base duquel on aperçoit une hache, rappelant les mots

³² G. Milet, D. T. Rice, *op. cit.*, p. 26-38. C. Texier, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

avec lesquels le souffrant exhortait les pharisiens et les saducéens qui venaient chez lui pour le manque de bienfaits "*Voilà, la hache se trouve à la racine de l'arbre; donc, tout arbre qui ne fait pas de bons fruits, est taillé et est jeté dans le feu*" (Matthieu, 3, 10).

Sur la rive abrupte de devant le Baptiseur sont peints des anges dans une attitude d'attente accablante, se penchant épouvantés devant le Seigneur. La scène, peinte à droite de la porte d'accès dans la nef capte l'attention spirituelle du visiteur qui vit pleinement la joie de la dédicace.

Au-dessus de ce thème est peint le thème *La guérison de l'aveugle par naissance*. (Jean, 9, 1-38) Au centre est peint Jésus Christ le Sauveur, suivi des apôtres. Derrière ceux-ci, on peut apercevoir les édifices de la cité de Jérusalem; devant le Sauveur se trouve l'aveugle par naissance demandant de la pitié. Le Sauveur est présenté avec la main tendue vers les yeux de l'aveugle. Derrière l'aveugle sont peints quelques oliviers.

Un autre thème dont la réalisation artistique est tout à fait particulière est *Christ parlant au temple* (Luc, 2, 41 - 49). Le Sauveur Christ est assis sur le trône, qui est couvert avec une toile blanche. Il tient dans la main gauche la Sainte Ecriture ouverte. Dans la partie droite sont peints la Vierge Marie et Joseph; sur leurs visages on peut lire la joie d'avoir retrouvé leur fils. A gauche sont peints les érudits et les pharisiens du temple, le montrant l'un à l'autre, avec les visages vieillissés en comparaison avec celui jeune de Christ.

Dans la partie ouest de la voûte du narthex est peinte la merveille des noces de Cana de Galilée, *La Transformation de l'eau en vin* (Jean, 2, 1-11). Dans cette représentation, on voit Jésus derrière la table des noces, auprès de la Vierge; ce sont les seuls qui ont autour de la tête peinte une auréole; à gauche de Christ sont représentés les jeunes mariés, portant des couronnes de fleurs sur la tête. Sur la table se trouvent des plats, et devant la table se trouvent six grands vaisseaux et deux jeunes y versant de l'eau, pendant que Christ, assis auprès de la table, leur donne sa bénédiction. Sous cette représentation est peint le thème *La guérison du maigre de Capharnaüm* (Marc, 2, 1-12) Christ, suivi des apôtres, est avec la main tendue en signe de bénédiction vers le maigre qui porte sur le dos son lit de souffrance.

Le Saint Voile – Mandylion est peint sur l'arc d'au-dessus de la porte d'entrée dans l'exonarthex. Le fond est foncé pour mettre en évidence le *Madylion*. Dans la partie gauche est peint un ange, on pense que dans la partie droite, il y était peint un ange, aussi; aujourd'hui, il n'y a rien parce que le crépi est tombé. *Le Saint Voile* est réalisé selon l'image imprimée sur toile du visage de Jésus Christ le long de sa vie sur la terre et envoyé au roi Abgar de Edesse. Le *Mandylion* nous montre seulement le visage de Christ, sans cou ou épaules. Comme dans l'image du visage du Sauveur en tourments imprimé sur la toile avec laquelle il s'est essuyé dans son chemin vers Golgotha, l'ainsi nommée *Vera icona* – conformément à la Tradition, celles-ci représentent les prototypes *objectifs* des icônes actuelles de Christ, les garants de l'authenticité de Son visage, de la représentation de laquelle sont exclues ainsi de manière principale toutes transfigurations artistiques *subjectives*³³.

³³ Sf. Teodor Studitul, *Iisus Hristos. Prototip al Icoanei Sale* (Jésus-Christ. Prototype de son

Un autre thème suggestivement représenté dans le programme iconographique de l'*Eglise Sainte Sophie* de Trébizonde est *Jésus Christ allant sur la mer – l'apaisement de la tempête* (Matthieu 14, 22-34). La mer est agitée, dans son milieu se trouve un vaisseau sur lequel Pierre et Jean tendent leurs mains vers Jésus. Dans ce thème iconographique, Christ apparaît en deux hypostases: dans la première, Christ va sur l'eau, pendant que dans la seconde, il donne sa bénédiction avec la main droite et tranquille la tempête représentée comme une créature avec plusieurs pieds et bras. Le fond de cette scène est bleu foncé pour créer l'atmosphère de tempête.

Un autre thème représenté dans le narthex immédiatement au-dessus la scène *Christ allant sur la mer* est *La guérison de la belle-mère de Pierre* (Matthieu, 8, 14-16). Dans cette scène, Christ tient la main de la belle-mère de Pierre, qu'il guérit. Les apôtres sont derrière Christ.

Dans la partie gauche de l'entrée dans la nef sur une surface relativement grande est représenté le thème *Deisis*, assez détruite. Sur un fond bleu est peint le trône du Juge Tout-Puissant. Le trait définitoire du Sauveur Jésus Christ est celui de l'amour infini et transformant. Les yeux nous regardent curieux, passant au-delà des apparences. Ils nous exhortent et nous appellent par les mots qu'on peut lire dans l'Evangile ouverte "*Je suis la lumière du monde. Celui-ci qui viendra après moi n'ira pas dans les ténèbres*" (Jean VIII, 12).

Le mot *Deisis* signifie dans la langue grecque *intercession*, il est clair que dans ce thème iconographique la Vierge et Saint Jean le Baptiseur moyennent pour nous, les hommes, demandant la pitié. Par leurs voix réunies, ils représentent l'humanité toute entière avec une voix unie de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament, qui se hausse devant le trône du Juge, un cri de prière pour l'humanité. La Vierge et Saint Jean le Baptiseur sont aisément penchés vers le Sauveur Jésus Christ, tenant les mains aisément tendues en signe de demande de la salvation de l'humanité. La nuance dominante du vêtement clérical est le bleu. Sur les bords, tout en complétant l'image grande, sont les Saints Archanges Michel et Gabriel.

Sur un fond bleu intense est peint le thème *la Multiplication des pains* (Matthieu, 14, 13-20). Dans le centre est représenté Christ regardant le ciel, ayant dans la main gauche un pain, lui donnant sa bénédiction avec la main droite. Devant celui-ci, se trouvent Philippe et André, ainsi que beaucoup de gens aux alentours, portant des vêtements couleur marron. Christ et les apôtres donnent du pain aux hommes affamés et pauvres. Christ vêtu d'un manteau bleu, est représenté plus grand que tous les autres, portant une auréole autour de la tête.

Situer *Le Jugement Dernier* sur le mur ouest du narthex fait partie d'une ancienne tradition connue en même temps en Orient, ainsi qu'en Occident. L'explication doit être mise en liaison avec le symbolisme du coucher du soleil, équivalent avec la fin du monde, mais aussi en liaison avec le fait que, étant un thème à caractère moralisateur, *Le Jugement Dernier* est assis dans la zone de l'entrée.

La pensée du connaisseur des témoignages bibliques lorsqu'il regarde cette représentation iconographique se dirige vers les dires du psalmiste David "*Votre Dieu*

vient et ne tait pas; devant lui arrive un feu anéantissant et à ses alentours s'agite l'orage" (Psaume, 49,3). L'image qui se déroule devant ses yeux est vraiment la représentation graphique de la première stichère des Vêpres du Dimanche du Mardi Gras de la viande ou du Terrible Jugement, tout en observant l'influence décisive que celle-ci a exercée sur le peintre. Voilà, par exemple, ce que dit la première de ces stichères "*Lorsque tu viendras à juger justement, tout puissant juge, assis sur le trône de ta gloire, rivière de feu épouvantant, il tirera devant ton divan tous, assis devant Toi les puissances du ciel et les gens avec peur seront jugés, chacun comme il avait vécu*"³⁴. Ce *lorsque tu viendras* attire l'attention de tout lecteur ou écouteur. Il annonce, contraint moralement et éclaire. Par sa formulation engagée, cette annonce rappelle l'événement. Les mots ont le pouvoir évocateur de l'image. En fait, ils incarnent l'image de l'événement qui se déploiera.

La reconstitution iconographique de la scène du *Jugement dernier* sur la base des hymnes de culte se fait facilement et exactement. Ce jour-là "*les chaises seront assises et les livres seront ouverts et Dieu viendra au Jugement, quelle peur sera alors! Les anges demeureront devant lui avec peur et la rivière de feu coulera*"³⁵.

La représentation iconographique du *Jugement dernier* de l'*Eglise Sainte Sophie* de Trébizonde est tout à fait particulière. La surface est assez grande, aujourd'hui on peut distinguer seulement des fragments de cette représentation. Dans la zone où a été peint à l'époque de la rédaction du thème le visage du *Juge Juste*, on a pratiqué une fenêtre probablement dans la période lorsqu'elle a fonctionné comme mosquée. D'une partie et de l'autre de la fenêtre on peut déchiffrer facilement les portraits de la Vierge et de Saint Jean le Baptiseur, derrière lesquels les fragments de fresque prouvent qu'à cet endroit-là ont été peints jadis les ancêtres Adam et Eve. La rivière de feu, colorée en rouge foncée part des pieds de Jésus Christ.

Sur la calotte de l'exonarthex de la partie nord de l'*Eglise Sainte Sophie* de Trébizonde est peinte l'excellente composition *l'Arbre de Jesse*. Le thème *l'Arbre de Jesse* illustre la descendance directe de Jésus Christ des rois de Jérusalem, symbolisant par cela la liaison entre l'Ancien Testament et le Nouveau Testament. Malheureusement, les destructions souffertes le long du temps font presque impossible la reconstitution exacte de ce thème iconographique. Dans le même exonarthex est peint, aussi, le thème *Le Sermon des Apôtres sur la Terre* assez détérioré.

Le programme iconographique de la nef

En ce qui concerne l'iconographie de la nef, mais ayant un caractère autonome, parce que celle-ci met l'accent sur ces moments-là de la vie du Sauveur Jésus Christ qui sont devenus la base pour la constitution des mystères liturgiques, *l'autel de l'Eglise Sainte Sophie* contribue par ses particularités d'organisation compositionnelle et par ses qualités d'expression picturale à la personnalisation d'une valeureuse réalisation artistique et à la définition des véritables peintres.

³⁴ *Triod*, la VII-ème édition, București, 1970, p. 39.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p.40.

L'espace de l'autel est relativement ample par rapport aux dimensions générales de l'église, étant constitué d'une abside demi-circulaire précédée d'une travée rectangulaire voûtée avec deux arcs en plein centre, le dernier raccord à la demi calotte sphérique avec laquelle est voûtée l'abside.

Dans la zone centrale de la voûte en quart de sphère avec laquelle finit l'abside, se trouve une représentation de la *Vierge assise sur le trône, avec le Fils sur ses genoux*³⁶ encadrée par les Saints Archanges Michel et Gabriel. Elaborée à Constantinople comme réaction contre ceux qui contestaient le culte de la Vierge, cette représentation iconographique a trouvé sa place depuis longtemps dans l'autel, rappelant tout le temps aux fidèles la grand secret de Dieu qui est venu sur la terre pour sauver le genre humain.

Il suit la scène *l'Ascension*, scène peinte sur un fond bleu. Les Apôtres regardent en haut et tendent leurs mains avec étonnement; au milieu, la Vierge regarde, elle aussi, en haut; d'une partie et de l'autre de celle-ci, les deux archanges, montrant en haut Jésus aux apôtres. Au-dessus ceux-ci, sur les nuages, Christ assis tenu par les archanges Raphaël et Uriel, avec pompe et avec probité angélique passant parmi les anges, avec des clairons et avec des instruments de musique se dirige en haut, vers les ciels donnant sa bénédiction avec les mains levées.

Sur la partie nord de l'abside de l'autel dans le même registre sont représentés les thèmes *Christ se montrant aux Apôtres à la Mer de la Tibériade* (Jean 20, 1-14) et *Toma touchant les blessures de Christ* (Jean 21, 25-30).

Devant le diaconikon, dans la partie supérieure, un espace relativement difficilement accessible aux yeux, sont peints les thèmes *La Naissance de la Vierge* et *L'entrée de la Vierge dans l'Eglise*.

Dans la scène *L'entrée de la Vierge dans l'Eglise*, la couleur dominante est le rouge pourpre, nuance impériale. Sainte Ane a un visage sur lequel la joie de l'accomplissement d'un rêve secret se mêle avec l'étonnement. Le juste Ioachim tient sa tête appuyé contre la paume dans une attitude de profonde méditation. Tous les visages peints ont une aura de lumière, mais ceux de l'Enfant et des Saints Pères se distinguent par leur éclatement des autres. Ce sont les parents les plus loués et heureux du genre humain parce qu'ils ont né la Mère de Dieu, dont les larmes s'entremettent, salvatrices, entre la justice du Père et l'impartialité du Fils au Jugement Dernier. De la lumière claire de cette représentation jaillit la paix calmante pour l'âme qui avait volé à la fuite du temps quelques instants l'admirant avec sagesse.

La tourelle

La tourelle de la nef est prévue avec 12 fenêtres et dans l'espace d'entre les fenêtres ont été peints les 12 apôtres. Dans la coupole demisphérique qui souligne le ciel³⁷ se trouve le visage du *Pantocrator*³⁸. L'image du *Pantocrator* constitue la clef de

³⁶ Nilay Ylmaz, *Ayasofya Muzesi' ndeki Ikonalar Katalogu – I*, Kultur Bakanligi YAyinlari 1544 I. Baski, Ankar 1993 p. 18, 20, 21, 42.

³⁷ Il semblerait que le symbole coupole – ciel s'est affirmé pour la première fois au VI-ème siècle, en liaison avec l'Eglise Sainte Sophie d'Edesse, l'église elle-même étant considérée

voûte de l'iconographie de la nef³⁹. Le Pantocrator a la tête entourée d'une auréole. Il est vêtu d'un habit rouge. L'icône peinte sur la tourelle de la nef met en évidence le sens cosmique du *Tout-puissant "empereur des empereurs et Prince régnant des Princes régnants"* (I, Timothée, 6, 15), mais aussi dans l'œuvre salvatrice de Jésus Christ, conformément au texte de l'Évangile *"Je suis la lumière du monde. Celui qui me suit, n'ira pas dans les ténèbres, mais aura une vie éternelle"* (Jean, 8, 12). L'iconographie qui présente le Pantocrator passant dans le monde et intangible s'est inspirée des *Livres de l'Ancien Testament des Prophètes "Le Ciel est mon siège et la Terre, la literie de mes pieds"* (Isaïe, 66,1). Sous le visage du Pantocrator se trouve une inscription qui comprend le *Verset 1 du Psaume 19* respectivement *"Que le Seigneur t'écoute le jour du chagrin et que le nom du Dieu de Jacob te défend"* et le *Verset 1 du Psaume 18*, respectivement *"Les ciels témoignent la gloire de Dieu et la force annonce l'œuvre de ses mains"*, et ce qu'on peut voir assez rarement, plusieurs anges qui volent.

Dans les quatre grands pendentifs de la base de la tourelle de la nef sont peintes les thèmes suivants: la *Naissance du Christ*; la *Crucifixion*, la *Résurrection*, le *Baptême du Seigneur*.

Le thème la *Naissance du Christ* (2, 5-8) est peint dans le pendentif de NO. Malheureusement, celui-ci est extrêmement détérioré, mais on peut distinguer encore les têtes de chevaux et bœufs qui respirent, ainsi que le visage de Joseph. La *Crucifixion* (Jean, 19-30) est peinte dans le pendentif de NE, la *Résurrection* est peinte dans le pendentif de SE; à l'encontre des autres représentations, celui-ci est le mieux conservé. A l'encontre des autres représentations de ce thème, on y aperçoit Christ, portant dans sa main gauche une croix haute, regardant derrière, au-dessus l'épaule gauche vers Adam, Eve et Abel. A droite de Christ sont peints Saint Jean le Baptiseur, le roi David et le sage Salomon. Dans le pendentif de S est peint le thème le *Baptême du Seigneur* (Matthieu, 3, 13-17).

Au-dessus la porte d'accès vers l'exonarthex de nord sont représentés les Saints Sava, Entini, Euttimiu et Théodose, les deux premiers tiennent dans leurs mains un livre, pendant que les derniers deux tiennent dans la main la croix. Au-dessus de ceux-ci, sont peints les Saints Bacus et Serghei, le premier tenant dans la main une croix, pendant que le second tient les mains levées en haut en état de prière.

Dans la zone du mur d'ouest de la nef sont peints les thèmes suivants *Le laver des pieds*, la *Cène secrète*, *Le laver sur les mains de Pilat* et le *Déni de Pierre*.

Le thème *Le laver des pieds* (Jean 13, 4-8) est représenté d'habitude auprès le thème *La Cène secrète*. Le sujet est le lavage des pieds des apôtres et leur bénédiction

comme une image réduite de l'univers. Voir A. Grabar, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

³⁸ Il est indubitable que situer le visage du Pantocrator dans la coupole de la nef est devenu une règle courante tout en commençant dès le IX-ème siècle, après avoir rétabli le culte des images. Voir Victor Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, Torino, 1967, p. 126-127, A. Grabar, *op. cit.*, p. 246-247.

³⁹ Les plus anciennes compositions avec la figure du Pantocrator dans la coupole d'une nef sont gardées dans l'Eglise Sainte Sophie de Kiev (Hristoriy Logvin, *Kiev's Hagia Sofia*, Kiev, 1971) et à l'église du monastère Daphni, des alentours d'Athènes (G. Milet, *Le monastère de Daphni*, Paris 1899).

par Christ. Le premier des apôtres est le Saint Pierre. Dans la composition iconographique de *l'Eglise Sainte Sophie*, le cadre fond est extrêmement compliqué, avec des formes architecturales agitées vues des angles de perspective différentes, ce qui augmente l'effet général de mouvement à caractère théâtral. Les apôtres occupent la partie supérieure de cet espace scénique, quelques-uns se trouvent dans le premier plan en front avec Saint Pierre, en attitudes variées, se préparant à se déchausser. Christ est dans la partie gauche, avec les manches retroussées, et semble expliquer à Pierre la signification de cette cérémonie de communion et d'humiliation. Assis sur la marche d'en haut, Pierre tend le pied nu vers le vaisseau avec de l'eau, et de la main droite élevée en haut, fait un geste de compréhension étonnée.

Fastueux et en même temps, dramatique, le thème iconographique de *la Cène* (Matthieu, 26, 23-26) a commencé à être présent dans l'iconographie byzantine surtout après le XIII^{ème} siècle. De forme demi-ellipsoïdale, la table présente aux spectateurs sa partie droite. Au bout de la table, dans la partie gauche, se trouve Christ. Assis autour de la table, les apôtres forment un groupe bien organisé du point de vue compositionnel, mais chacun semble isolé dans ses propres pensées. Dans la partie droite du spectateur – Juda, jeune et sans auréole tend ses mains vers le vaisseau qui se trouve sur la table. La distribution des accents de couleur et lumière, le fond bleu est extrêmement rigoureuse et on croit ne pas commettre une faute en attribuant au peintre une intention symbolique. La zone centrale toute entière de la composition est occupée de la surface jaune - rouge foncé et bleu; la table devient un symbole claire de la communion, sa signification étant potencée par le mouvement concentrique des auréoles. Pour meilleur mettre en évidence la convergence des éléments lumineux, le premier plan de la composition est foncé, les habits des apôtres sont toujours foncés, ainsi que l'édifice derrière Christ.

Le thème *Le laver sur les mains de Pilate* (Matthieu, 26, 29) présente du point de vue compositionnel un palais et Pilate assis sur une chaise, regardant vers les Juifs; un homme devant lui tient une cuvette et une aiguière, lui verse de l'eau. Derrière Pilate se trouve un jeune homme et devant Pilate est Christ, escorté par des soldats. Dans la foule, on peut identifier Anna et Caïphe. Malheureusement, la peinture a souffert beaucoup, probablement elle a été détruite dans la période dans laquelle elle a été couverte avec le crépi blanc lorsque l'église a été transformée en mosquée.

Le Déni de Pierre (Matthieu 27, 19-26) présente Pierre en marge, devant lui une servante les mains tendues vers lui. Auprès, on voit des soldats. Pierre effrayé, les mains tendues, regarde vers la fenêtre d'au-dessus la tête où est représenté le coq.

*

Une visite à *l'Eglise Sainte Sophie* de Trébizonde est une expérience unique, accablante pour ceux qui veulent connaître la fascination de jadis d'un Empire de l'esprit, un repère spirituel de séduction.

*) Traduit par Violeta Anca EPURE

THE STORY OF THE COURTSHIP OF CATHERINE “THE CIRCASSIAN”, THE SECOND WIFE OF THE PRINCE VASILE LUPU

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Rezumat: *Articolul de față prezintă episodul celei de-a doua căsătorii a voievodului moldovean Vasile Lupu cu Ecaterina, de origine circasiană, înrudită cu hanul tătar. De o frumusețe ieșită din comun, Ecaterina a jucat un rol de seamă atât în viața personală a domnului moldovean, dar s-a făcut remarcată și prin calitățile sale politice și diplomatice. Autorul a acordat o atenție deosebită izvoarelor de epocă, precum mărturiile lui Miron Costin sau ale misionarului italian Niccolo Barsi, care ar fi asistat la sosirea Ecaterinei din Crimeea în Moldova.*

Résumé: *L'article ci-joint présente l'épisode du second mariage du prince régnant moldave, Vasile Lupu avec Ecaterina, d'origine circassienne et apparentée avec le khan tatar. Extrêmement belle, Ecaterina a joué un rôle important dans la vie personnelle du voïvode moldave; elle s'est remarquée, aussi, par ses qualités politiques et diplomatiques. L'auteur a accordé une attention tout à fait particulière aux sources d'époque, comme les témoignages de Miron Costin ou du missionnaire italien Niccolo Barsi, qui aurait assisté à son arrivée de Crimée en Moldavie.*

Abstract: *This article presents the episode of the second marriage of Moldavian prince Vasile Lupu (1634-1653) with Catherine, of Circassian descent, a relative of the Crimea Tatar khan. An extraordinary beauty, Catherine played an important role in the personal life of Vasile Lupu and had noticeable political and diplomatic skills. The author has paid special attention to historical sources, especially to Miron Costin's chronicle and Niccolo Barsi's (Italian traveler) testimony, who had witnessed the arrival of Catherine from the Crimea into Moldavia.*

Keywords: Catherine, Vasile Lupu, Tudosca, Moldavia, courtship, politics, diplomacy

It is well known that the Circassian women were famous for their extraordinary beauty, which made them the most enviable wives. In the most unassailable ways, one would not argue that beauty has always been a precious commodity, but the Circassian women did not only uphold that quality, but also wisdom and good

household administration skills. Since their early childhood, the Circassian girls, coming from the highest social layers, were educated in the most distinctive conduct for the future family life. The marital union to a Circassian lady had evidently its political significance, as it would provide the country political, diplomatic and military stability, hence the appreciation of a Circassian wife.

During the mid XVIIth century the Moldavian Kingdom found itself in a complex tangle of interstate and geopolitical interests of Poland, Russia and Turkey. Additionally it was passing through a tense diplomatically-speaking period with its neighbors: Wallachia on one hand, and the Cossacks on the other. The political line of the Moldavian king Vasile Lupu who ruled almost two decades from 1633 until 1654, went down in history as a period of profound transition, particularly in terms of culture as it frayed a deep though-out strategic character. Thereby, concluding a marital contract with a lady, even though from a relatively little-known family, but with blood ties with the Crimean Khan (Vasile Lupu), had its own meticulous interests, mainly dominated by a strong political motivation. Nevertheless, if one follows the information of the sources of the era, it was this circumstantial union that has proved to be the basis of an extraordinary family filled with love and understanding.

Through out this paper one is to be presented with an attempt of exposition of a Circassian-girl life story, who became the wife of a Moldavian ruler and played a major role, not only in his personal life (influencing the fates of his daughters) but also by proving to be a great philanthropist and patron of the Moldavian monasteries and churches. In addition, she has showed important political and diplomatic skills in time of crisis, in the absence of her son and husband.

In terms of historiographical depiction of the issue being studied, it is worth mentioning that it has not gone beyond the scope of the researchers, especially in Romania. One of the first scientists, who have devoted his work to the historical research of the Romanian principalities women, was Nicolae Iorga¹. Fractionary, but still mentioned in his writings, was the fact that the “second wife of Vasile Lupu, Circassian by birth, closely related to the Tatar khan, had a christian name, Ecaterina, and was extraordinarily beautiful”².

In 1928, the monograph of the famous Romanian historic Oltea Nistor was published, *A Circassian lady on the Moldavian throne*, and since it represented a bibliographical writing directly devoted to Catherine, it has become a rarity which our

¹ Nicolae Iorga, *Viața femeilor în trecutul românesc* [*Life of Women in the Romanian Past*], Vălenii de Munte, 1910; Idem, *Femeile în viața neamului nostru* [*Women in the life of our people*], Vălenii de Munte, 1911; Idem, *Scrisori de femei* [*Women letters*], Vălenii de Munte, 1932; Idem, *Portretele doamnelor române* [*The portraits of Romanian Women*], București, 1937; Idem, *Istoria românilor în chipuri și icoane* [*The History of romanians in Faces and Icons*], Editura Humanitas (retipărită), București, 1992.

² Nicolae Iorga, *op. cit.*, 1910, p. 33-34; Idem, *op. cit.*, 1992, , p. 46.

scientific team was not able to work with. In 1933, the first chapter of the work of Constantin Gane has appeared, devoted to the Moldavian royalty wives and daughters until the beginning of the XVIII-th century. It mostly depict, in a scientific way, the marital union of Vasile Lupu and Catherine. In 1938, the Romanian researchers C. I. Andreescu and C. A. Stoide, in a monographic work devoted to Vasile Lupu's son *Ștefăniță Lupu*, lord of Moldova (1659-1661) , contains a detailed record on Catherine's private life. Among the contemporary Romanian writers, are worth mentioning the following: Sorin Eftimie , C. G. Toderașcu . The Moldavian historians have also treated the issue on the marital union with Circassian girl .

Nevertheless, from the one's point of view, the historical contemporary literature on the marriage of Vasile Lupu and Catherine, has proved to be lightly superficial and most definitely incomplete, as one is not able to find answers to all our questions, mainly, what sort of political interest did Vasile Lupu pursue, when concluding the marital contract. The “marital consult” has been sent after her shortly after the death of his first wife. In addition, what is up most intriguing, is that fact that, as it result from the sources of the age, her candidature was sought upon, even during the lifetime of his first wife. Further, one might definitely question the issue of the sultan's approval (mainly the reason of it). This kind of decision was requested when there were marital alliances with the European royalties at stake, whereas the circassians were subjects of the Turkish Sultan.

Courtship

In order to find any potential answers to the quests, one will attempt to reproduce the events in a chronological order. The last mention of the first family is to be found, in the Slavonic language, scripted on the entrance of the Church of Three Saints, 6/16 May 1639 on the occasion of its construction closure. Next to the Prince Vasile Lupu, all family members are mentioned – his first wife Tudosca (Kostea Buchok Boyer's daughter) and three of his children: his son Ioan and two daughters, Maria and Ruxandra³. Further information on the family is to be found in records of Miron Costin “*his Ioan was sick and Vasile Lupu sent him to Tsarigrad for a cure, but nothing helped and he died very young soon after his first wife Tudosca did too...After the death of his first wife, the king sent a Katarzhi in the land of*

³ Constantin I. Andreescu, Constantin A. Stoide, *Ștefăniță Lupu, domn al Moldovei 1659-1661* [Ștefăniță Lupu, ruler of Moldavia 1659-1661], Bucharest, Foundation of the King Carol I, 1938, p. 27. (А Яцимирский, *Славянская и русская летописи румынских библиотек* [Slavic and Russian chronicle of Romanian libraries], СПб., 1905, с. 310).

Circassia to bring him a wife to marry, the daughter of the Mirza, with whom he lived until the end of his days⁴.

References as with regards to the fact that the king did not even mourn after the death of his wife, provided by Enaki Katarzhi, have been also confirmed by other sources, as he sent immediately after her death a “*marital embassy*” to “*fetch*” him a wife.

Particularly one is to mention an Italian missionary, the monk Nicolo Barsay, who is said to have actually eye witnessed how Catherine has been brought from Crimea to Moldova. He has illustrated her journey in details, in a bright and almost highly emotional manner in the chapter of his paperwork called “*The Return 1639*”, meanwhile he has been in Crimea in Bakhchisarai. One might bring forward a fragment of his memories, which in fact constitutes a priceless source of the era, mainly since it directly touches our topic: “*I am unbelievably lucky to have met the Moldavian royal missionary (Enaki Katarzhi), who took the young beautiful Circassian lady to the Moldavian prince. The ambassador had the Khan's empowerment to look through the entire Circassian kingdom for the right wife (Catherine), who would be of unknown beauty. After the Ambassador had paid 1000 ducats to his father, 500 ducats to the mother, and 1000 to the khan (at that time it was the Tatar Khan Behadir Gere (1638-1642) who ruled Crimea, - LZ), he came with her in Bakhchisarai, where I was as well. August 19, 1639 with Khan's permission, the entire cortege of 150 Tatars and 60 Moldavians, went toward the fortress Ochakov ...where we stopped to eat and rest...at 2 in Morning a “kihaya” (the court clerk), from Pasha of Silistra (Nasuh Hussein (1638-1640)) had approached the Moldavian ambassador and asked for the circassian princess for his Master. The Moldavian ambassador answered that he cannot give her away, as she has been personally confined to him by the Khan himself and he would not bear humiliation... Kihay, being a wise man, asked for 3 or 4 of the best Moldavian and Tatar representatives to accompany him to the Pasha ...So did it happen, 3 or 4 Moldavian representatives from the cortege came along with the kihay...and they said that the lady was confided to them by the Crimean Khan himself and she was designated to be the Moldavian prince's wife. Pasha was extremely surprised by the fact that the Moldavian Christian prince is to marry a Muslim girl. The Moldavian ambassador answered that she is a Christian as well. At that point pasha declared that he will personally send a special embassy to the Khan in order to certify the statements; until then the representatives would be retained. Returning the next morning the ambassadors asked the Circassian lady to move from the carriage into a two-wheel driver, so that she would be hidden from the Turks. But they still found her, along with her slave who, herself was also no*

⁴ Miron Costin, *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei de la Aaron-vodă încoace (1595-1675)* [*The Chronic of Moldavia from Aaron voivode*] in *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei*, Chișinău, 1990, p. 189.

less beautiful than her lady, and her brother, who looked like "the child of the Gods"...The circassian lady was crying and wailing along with her brother, who deeply sympathized his sister as he acknowledged the troubles that await her...Pasha had deeply and madly fallen in love with her...trying to sought her recognition of the Muslim faith, but the girl poignantly denied it by eating pork in front of his eyes. Meanwhile, the Moldavian ambassadors reached the news and the events to their ruler. The Moldavian prince had immediately asked for help from the sultan and the Khan. After a certain amount of time, the ambassador came back from the Khan demanding the instant release of the Circassian girl as, besides the fact that she was a Christian, she was personally confined to them by him (the Khan.) At the same time the Moldavian ambassador brought another 3000 ducats to the Pasha (sic!)...but he would still not let her go...until the sultan's messenger arrived and pointed the fact that she is his Master's subject and that she is to be the wife of the Moldavian prince. Pasha realized that he will not get to marry the circassian girl and asked for another 200 ducats, so that September 6 the embassy has continued his journey to Dniester»⁵.

The Italian missionary Nicolo Barcy had detached from the cortege somewhere near the contemporary city Bender and had headed in the opposite direction towards the city of Mogilev, which explains the interruption of his narration. Nevertheless this piece gives us fair illustration of the events, allowing one its analysis to the extent of a reasonable conclusion.

One is to mention that the firmly established opinion in the historical literature that this marriage would be random has no valuable justification. The trivial statement that Vasile Lupu has chosen the second wife due to her beauty as his first one was not so, does not hold any criticism⁶. As a counter argument one may bring forward the rapidly evolving events, which were both fixed and circumstantial. As mentioned above, the first wife was still alive during the period of May 1639. The exact date of Tudosca's decease is unknown (whether it was at the beginning of summer or the end of spring). It is also unknown whether Vasile Lupu has held the 40 day mourning period after her death. However it is fairly certain that that summer the Moldavian ambassadorial cortege has departed in the search of the second wife, as on August 19, 1639 the ambassadors have already complied with all the courtship requests (at the level of the Moldavian royal requests) and were coming back. September 28 after numerous twists and turns on the road, the cortege has arrived with the bride in the Moldavian capital, Iasi. The level of organization and the promptitude with which

⁵ Niccolo Barsi, *Întoarcerea. 1639* [*The return. 1639*] in *Călători străini despre Țările Române* [Foreign travelers about the Romanian Countries], Vol. V, edited by Maria Holban, M. M. Alexandrescu - Dersca Bulgaru, Paul Cernovodeanu, Scientific Publishing House, Bucharest, 1973, p. 86-89.

⁶ Constantin Gane, *Trecute vieți de doamne și domnițe* [Bygone lives of queens and princesses], Vol. 1, Chișinău, "Universitas" Printing House, 1991, p. 207.

everything has been accomplished, confirms the fact that it has been planned in advance.

In analyzing the sources of the era, it results that information on the bride's origins or her family stays unknown. Statements of chronicle and missionaries evidence the fact that she was of noble birth solely, since the Crimean Khan himself stoop up for her. Her name, or the name of her parents, even the name of her younger brother who accompanied her are alien. The name of "*Catherine*" is mentioned in the paperwork of the era as her Christian name, as it is highly possible that she was obliged to change to the christian faith in order for the marital alliance to happen. In addition, she was accompanied by a great cortege- 150 Tatars and three times less Moldavians – 60 people, who were to be sustained and provided with meals along the journey.

Another worth mentioning fact is the price of the bride. In the Muslim community, at the conclusion of the marital contract (copies of which have to be handed to the both parties), the groom had to establish in a mandatory order the financial contribution of his family to the wedding ceremony⁷. In other words, the Moldavian cortege has met all the marital requests according to the Muslim customs and tradition (the groom had to pay a certain "*redemption*" to the bride's family). In addition to the payment to the family, one is to also emphasize the fact the Moldavian king paid another retribution to the Crimean Khan, in order to get his approval. Subsequently, when resolving the conflict with Pasha of Silistra who retained the bride, the Moldavian embassy has also fulfilled the financial commitment. It is no less significant the redemption of the brides. For example, the father of the bride and the Khan Behadir Girai have each received 1000 ducats, her mother two times less – 500 ducats, and pasha – 3000 (two times more than the parents of the bride). In one's opinion, as with regards to the price of redemption it is undoubtedly that it could have been established without any preliminary discussion, since the girl was not courted, she was taken to bed wed. Furthermore, the conditions of the engagement were not discussed as the price that was paid was for the girl to be the Moldavian king's wife. Above all, she was accompanied by a rather large delegation, who was to attend the official marital ceremony in order to advise later on the parents, relatives and the Crimean Khan. Therefore, the embassy was fully equipped with gifts and a certain amount of money in order to fulfill the requirements of the Muslim customs, and very well informed about the Muslim behavioral formalities.

There is scant evidence about the wedding and the beautiful bride Catherine „*de rare belleze*”⁸ but one is certain about the fact that she, her brother and her maid

⁷ Рафаэла Льюис, *Османская Турция. Быт, религия, культура* [Ottoman Turkey. Life, religion, culture], Москва, Центрполиграф, 2004, с. 118-119.

⁸ Nicolae Iorga, *Studii și documente cu privire la istoria românilor* [Studies and documents regarding the History of Romanians], IV. *Legăturile principatelor române cu Ardealul. De*

were lodged in a separate residence, especially built for her⁹. It is most likely that she was greeted with great splendour, since the event was of a major political importance (the bride of the Moldavian prince himself). In addition, according to Moldavian traditions, the hospitality of foreign guests represented a particular ritual that was too accomplished according to well established protocol and etiquette of the era. The delegation was met by a special escort even at the border crossing in Moldova, which consisted of boyars and senior government military officials. On the entrance in the capital they were met by the Moldavian prince himself. Further, one is to state the fact that Vasile Lupu is known through history as one of the finest and luxury-lover rulers, in terms of clothing, furniture and jewelry. Naturally, for the arrival of his wife, money was not saved and she has been honored with numerous pre-wedding gifts and with the most distinguished reception.

There is no evidence of the wedding festivities, except a mentioning of it being in 1640. But this is where questions arise: why the hurry to haul the wedding to the winter period? The bride has arrived in late September, which basically is period of the Moldavian weddings. One may assume that the priests have opposed this hasty marriage, asking Vasile Lupu to hold at least half of the mourning for the death of his wife (the husband was to hold the mourning for a year at the time). The funeral ceremony has been depicted by Dimitrie Cantemir in his work “*Description of Moldova*”, in the chapter entitled “*On the funeral traditions in Moldova*” “*The Moldavians bury the defuncts according to well-established religious practices...The mourning is worn on differently...They (the Moldavians) go to the grave every Sunday during the first year after the death*”¹⁰. Hence the decision of Vasile Lupu not to marry Catherine immediately after her arrival. Nevertheless, it is a hypothetical perspective and in no way assertive, as the real reasons stay unknown due to lack of historical sources.

Summing up all the above, it is safe to say that the marriage between Vasile Lupu and Catherine was far from accidental. As the era sources attest, all the details have been thought of. Almost immediately after the death of his wife, Vasile Lupu sends the ambassadorial cortege to get his second wife, hence not respecting even the basic mourning traditions. One may also assume that government and political interests were high above emotions. Vasile Lupu was an ambitious, far-sighted politician and a brilliant strategist. His plan was to expand the Moldavian

la 1601 la 1699 [The connections of the Romanian principalities with Transylvania. From 1601 to 1699], Editura Ministerului de Instrucție, București, 1902, p. CXXVII.

⁹ Ioan Caproșu, *Documente privitoare la istoria orașului Iași* [Documents Regarding the City of Iași], vol. II, Acte interne [Internal Documents], (1661-1690), Iași, Editura „Dosoftei”, 2000, p. 100 (nr. 105).

¹⁰ Dimitrie Cantemir, *Descrierea Moldovei* [Description of Moldavia], Chișinău, 1998, p. 170-171.

borders. He prepared his only son Ioan for the future throne of Valachia. However, his plans crashed after the death of his son and he remained with no male heir. Vasile Lupu was well aware that he had to resolve promptly the dynastic crisis. He needed a young wife, strong and healthy, able to give birth to his heirs. The choice fell on Catherine, the Circassian girl. How and under which circumstances this choice has been made, remains an unsolved mystery. Unfortunately, one does not dispose of sources that could give a reliable answer to this question. At the same time, one does not deny the well-known and hackneyed point of view of the historical literature, that this “marriage encountered a political context, the Moldavian-Tatar mutual support in the political, military and economic spheres”¹¹.

Fortunately, enough sources about Catherine have survived, both written and visual, which allows one to visualize as with regards to her looks and her positions in life, as a wife, mother and step-mother. However this a different matter of study.

¹¹ Ciprian-Gică Toderășcu, *Ecaterina Cerchez, soția lui Vasile Lupu* [Cerchez Catherine, the wife of Vasile Lupu], in “Elanul”, no. 104, 2010, p. 7.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE PROBLEM OF BUKOVINA WITHIN THE EUROPEAN GEOPOLITICAL SPACE

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Rezumat: Problema Moldovei nord-vestice (numită de ocupații austriece Bucovina) a apărut în spațiul geopolitic european în 1775, când teritoriul respectiv a fost anexat de Imperiul Habsburgic. Totuși, până atunci partea nordică a viitoarei Bucovina (Țara Șipenișului) a fost disputată de Polonia și Moldova. Cu toate acestea, hotarul polono-moldovenesc fusese clar stabilit, incluzând partea nordică a Bucovinei (dorită de Polonia) în Principatul Moldovei. Împăratul și administrația austriacă au folosit câteva **motive** pentru anexarea Moldovei nord-vestice: 1. impunerea unui cordon „sanitar” împotriva ciumei („care se stinsese de mult în Moldova”); 2. „necesitatea” anexării unei „fâșii” (în realitate, au fost anexate două mari ținuturi) din teritoriul Moldovei pentru construcția unui drum care să lege Galiția de Transilvania; 3. drepturile istorice ale Pocuției (respectiv, Galiției), ajunse în posesia Austriei, asupra nordului Moldovei (Ținutului Șipenișului). Printre **cauzele** anexării menționăm: 1. „nepotolita poftă de noi achiziții teritoriale”: pofta de expansiune a imperiului și de acaparare a noi teritorii aducătoare de profit; 2. compensarea pierderii Olteniei cu un alt teritoriu – în speță, cu cel al Moldovei nord-vestice; 3. dorința de a avea o zonă strategică din care să fie desfășurată o expansiune ulterioară în Principatele Moldova și Valahia, respectiv în regiunea Dunării de Jos și în Balcanii de Est. O soluție a problemei comunității românești din nordul Bucovinei este posibilă prin trecerea localităților românești din regiunea Cernăuți în cadrul Republicii Moldova, în schimbul trecerii localităților locuite de ucraineni și de rusofoni din Transnistria moldovenească în cadrul Ucrainei.

Résumé: Le problème de la Moldavie de nord-ouest (nommé, aussi, par les occupants autrichiens, la Bucovine) est apparu dans l'espace géopolitique européen en 1775, lorsque le territoire respectif a été annexé par l'Empire Habsbourgeois. Jusqu'à cette époque-là, la partie nordique de la future Bucovine (le Pays du Sîpeniș) a été disputée par la Pologne et la Moldavie. Pourtant, la frontière polonaise moldave avait été clairement établie, incluant aussi la partie nordique de la Bucovine (voulue par la Pologne) dans la Principauté de la Moldavie. L'empereur et l'administration autrichienne ont utilisé quelques **motifs** pour l'annexion de la Moldavie de nord-ouest: 1. l'imposition d'un cordon “sanitaire” contre la peste (“qui était disparue depuis longtemps en Moldavie”); 2. “la nécessité” d'annexer une “bordure” (en réalité, on avait annexé deux contrées) du territoire de la Moldavie pour la construction d'un chemin qui lie la Galice de la Transylvanie; 3. les droits historiques de Pocuția (respectivement de la Galice), entrées dans la possession de l'Autriche, sur le nord de la Moldavie (la Contrée de Sîpeniș). Parmi les **causes** de l'annexion, on mentionne: 1.

“l’insatiable désir de nouvelles annexions territoriales”: le besoin d’expansion de l’empire et d’accaparer de nouveaux territoire apportant de profit; 2. la compensation de la perte de l’Olténie avec un autre territoire – c’est à dire, celui du nord-ouest de la Moldavie; 3. le désir d’avoir une zone stratégique, d’où on puisse développer une expansion ultérieure dans les Principautés de la Moldavie et de la Valachie, respectivement dans la région du Bas Danube et dans les Balkans d’Est. Une solution du problème de la communauté roumaine du nord de la Bucovine est possible par le passage des localités roumaines de la région Tchernovtsy à la République de la Moldavie, à l’échange du passage des localités habitées par des Ukrainiens et des Russophones de la Transnistrie moldave dans le cadre de l’Ukraine.

Abstract: *The problem of the North-Western Moldavia (named later on, by the Austrian occupants, Bukovina) emerged within the European geopolitical space in 1775, when the territory has been annexed by the Habsburg Empire. However, before that moment, the Northern part of the future Bukovina (Șipeniț district) was disputed by Poland and Moldavia. Yet, the Polish-Moldavian border was clearly established, including the Northern part of Bucovina (wanted by Poland) within the Moldavian Principality. The Austrian emperor and administration used a few motivations for the annexation of the North-Western Moldavia: 1. the imposition of a cordon against the plague ("which burned down long time before in Moldavia"); 2. "the need" to annex "a strip" (in reality, two big districts were annexed) from the territory of Moldavia for the construction of a road linking Transylvania with Galicia; 3. the historical rights of the Pocuția (i.e., Galiția), which have come in possession of Austria, on the North of Moldavia (Șipeniț County). Some of the real reasons of occupation were: 1. "insatiable hunger for new territorial acquisitions; lust for the expansion of the Empire and seizing new territories bringing profit; 2. to compensate for the loss of another territory – Oltenia – in this case, with the North-Western Moldavia; 3. a desire to have a strategic area to be pursued in a subsequent expansion in Moldavia and Wallachia, respectively in the Danube region and in the Eastern Balkans. As in June 1940, the Soviet authorities have linked the issue of Bessarabia with the issue of Bukovina, I believe that the problem of Transnistria (Moldavia) should be viewed in connection with the issue of ethnic Romanian Community territory of Northern Bukovina (now in Cernăuți region). A solution for the problem of the Romanian community in Northern Bukovina is possible by the passage of municipalities inhabited by Romanians from Northern Bukovina to Republic of Moldavia, in return for passing several areas with villages and towns populated by Ukrainians or Russian speakers from Moldavian Transnistria to Ukraine.*

Keywords: *Bukovina, Moldavia, geopolitics, Poland, Austria, Russia, Romania, USSR.*

Introduction

The annexation of the North-Western part of the Principality of Moldavia (named *Bukovina* by the Austrian occupants) in 1775 was preceded by periods of occupation of certain areas of the concerned region, and of the fortress of Hotin, by the neighboring Poland. The annexation of Bessarabia by Russia in 1812 was

preceded by Turkish annexations of the counties of Chilia (July 14, 1484) and Cetatea Albă (August 5, 1484), the county of Tighina and Budjak steppe – where they established the Nogai Tatars (1538) and Hotin County.¹

Pre-Moldavian period

Before submitting data on the Polish-Moldavian territorial dispute, we have to report on events in 1359 in regards to Șipeniț County. Dimitrie Onciul refers to the Volokh Princes (1359), recorded by the Polish chronicler Dlugosz, who "still, are not known in Moldavian Chronicles; their names are not in the diptych which contains the oldest authentic list of rulers princes from Bogdan hither"². After the death of one ruler, Ștefan, "his sons, Ștefan and Petru started the quarrel for the paternal inheritance. The youngest son, Petru, with the help of the Hungarians, occupied the throne and banished his elder brother; Ștefan asked for help from King Casimir of Poland, and provided obedience of Moldavia to the Polish suzerainty. In 1359, at the St. Peter and Paul festal occasion, Casimir sent an army in Moldavia as an aid to Ștefan. But the Polish army registered a hard failure in the «Plonini» Woods, land of Șipeniț³, and many Polish noblemen were made prisoners by Moldavians"⁴. I think that in this passage, names "Moldavia" and "Moldavians" must be accepted with some reserves, because the medieval sources mentioned the word "Vlachs": "It is known that that after a decisive win at Sinie Vody on Tatars, Podolia region – including the Bolohoven Knezats – got under the Lithuanian domination of Teodor Coriatovici. However, in 1354, he withdrawn his lordship to King Louis the Great of Hungary; he also surrendered the fortresses to «Valach» (...); the information is provided by the Russian Chronicle of Bychowich", and those fortresses are represented by Hotin, Țețina and Hmielov"⁵. Referring to the Hotin fortress, Gumenâi stated: "Of course, being situated in a territory inhabited by Valachs (...) the garrison was composed of Romanians, information in this respect presenting Bycovich, in 1354"⁶. In the same respect, Gheorghe I. Brătianu stated: "In the same year [1359], a Polish expedition against the small Moldavian [?] Northern State of Șipeniț, at the edge of Galiția, ended by a disaster in the Bukovina forest: soon a matrimonial union

¹ In 1713, the Turks took control of the fortress of Hotin, and in 1715 the land was converted into a Raya.

² Dimitrie Onciul, *Din istoria Bucovinei* [From the history of Bukovina], Chișinău, Editura Universitas, 1992, p. 49.

³ *Sepenecensis terra*, in Bukovina, between the Prut and Dniester, where today is located the village of Șipeniți.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁵ Ion Gumenâi, *Istoria Ținutului Hotin. De la origini până la 1806* [History of the Hotin land. From its origins to 1806], Chișinău, Editura Civitas, 2002, p. 68.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

avored a merger of that voivodship from North, with that which was created by the Princes who emigrated from Maramureș; this will give enough force to the unified Moldavia to the extend its border to the East, and to ensure a full control of the commercial road, which will be its main economic and political reason of existence"⁷. It is known that in 1392 Moldavia has imposed a control over that road: "This road is the one that, ultimately, without any doubt, led to the foundation and to the development of the Moldavian State, from its cradle in the Carpathians of Bukovina to the "Big See", which its rulers declared that they have reached in 1392"⁸. Whereas, with "convincing evidence", Ștefan Gorovei showed that *Dragoș' settlement* occurred in 1347, and the overthrow of his dynasty by Bogdan after 1364⁹. I believe that, in 1359 was recorded the small Valachs voivodeship resistance against Poland, and the Polish chronicler Dlugosz named it *Șipeniț Country (Terra Sepenecensis)*. As Brătianu stated, the year **1359** remained in Moldavian Annals/Chronicles as ***the year of the independence*** of the common State of the Principality of Moldavia, which, however, only later acquired the independence against Hungary. If subsequently, in blurry conditions, the Șipeniț Country became a part of Galiția, the information presented above explains why the rulers of Moldavia were being interested in that territory.

The Polish – Moldavian territorial dispute

In accordance with the Moldavian chronicles, an action that led in future to the Moldavian-Polish dispute can be identified during the reign of Petru I Mușat "Prince of Moldavia (1375-1391), founder of the *Mușatin's Dynasty*, son of Margareta Mușata, the Lațcu Voievod's sister"¹⁰. Petru "borrows the Polish King, which was in all respects very puzzling, a sum of 3,000 Italian silver coins, and receives as surety the *Halici County*. But this County of Halici was only proper to the North of Upper Moldavia, nowadays Bukovina; so Petru could certainly have very well this country through his chancellors. But then they established the most appropriate Land for such possession, in the so-called *Pocuția*: this province, in direct touch with the northern border of Moldavia, included the *Șipeniț Country*, where Lord did put a "*staroste*", according to the Polish fashion; the County was including the fortress of *Tețina*, the ruins of which can be seen near Cernăuți – and *Hmielov*, that was utterly destroyed;

⁷ Gheorghe Brătianu, *Marea Neagră* [Black Sea], Iași, Editura Polirom, 1999, p. 386.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Neagu Djuvara, *Thocomerius – Negru vodă. Un voivod de origine cumană la începuturile Țării Românești* [Thocomerius – Negru vodă. A voievode of cumen descent at the beginnings of Wallachia], București, Editura Humanitas, 2007, p. 208.

¹⁰ *100 de portrete istorice color. Regi, domnitori, alte personalități* [100 historical portraits in color. Kings, rulers, other figures], Iași, Editura Porțile Orientului, f.a., p. 14.

maybe even the *Hotin*, a big fortress, placed on the right bank of the Dniester river, right on the water. That country remained in the Moldavia's possession for a long time, although the Polish kings never accepted to leave their right on it, considering it as a hostage for money which the Polish did not want to pay at all"¹¹. Therefore, it seems that when the Șipeniț Country was incorporated into the Principality of Moldavia for money lent by the Moldavian ruler. From the point of view of Polish, it was the putting into service of that territory, not a surrender of it: they have never accepted to leave the right over the territory in question, whilst they did not want to return the contracted debt.

During the reign of Alexandru cel Bun (1400 – 1432) it was recorded a further stage of negotiations on the territory in question: "Alexandru leaved to the King of Poland 1,000 Silver coins of Genoa from the debt and got from the King, who no longer called back Șepeniț country in 1411, "the true" *Pokutsya*, with the famous fortresses of Sniatin and Colomea"¹². We can see that Alexandru cel Bun obtained a legal regulation by an interstate (international) act (an agreement) on the membership of the Șipeniț Country to Moldavia, but also the right (as a hostage on account of unpaid debt of 2,000 "Genoese Silver coins") on "the true *Pocuția*" – the southern part of Halici Country (with the citadels of Colomea and Sniatin). However, the Polish did not pay back the debt, so in 1432, Alexandru cel Bun has conducted a predatory campaign in *Pocuția*, as a result of which Moldavia wasted the Țețina and Hmielov¹³. After the death of Alexandru cel Bun, Moldavia has failed into decline: "Moldavia, which was not threatened by any enemy, did fail quickly in a few years after the death of Alexandru cel Bun. Although Ilie was the older brother, though his father has took him, a piece of time, as the companion near the throne (...), although, last but not least, he was the legitimate son unlike other sons born from voivode's relations and, there for he deserved to get as wife the Vladislav the younger's sister, the new King of Poland, - his brother *Ștefan* dared to rise up against him. They have fought a number of years, and Moldavia dwindled in importance, meaning it must recognize, in humiliating conditions, the sovereignty of Poland and to leave for Poland the *Pocuția*"¹⁴. Namely Poland supported the replacement of Ilie (or Iliăș) with Ștefan, as the first "followed his father's foreign policy, while maintaining Moldavia within the anti-Poland Coalition"¹⁵. Polish King Sigismund Kiestut in 1433 "agreeing with Moldavia's Lord [Ștefan] by an exchange of letters, in addition to the fact that Țețina and Hmielov will be returned to Moldavia (lost by Moldavia during

¹¹ Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria românilor* [History of Romanians], Chișinău, Editura Universitas, 1992, p. 74.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 84.

¹³ Ion Gumenăi, *Istoria Ținutului Hotin...*, p. 69.

¹⁴ Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria românilor...*, p. 92.

¹⁵ Ion Gumenăi, *Istoria Ținutului Hotin...*, p. 69.

the campaign of Alexandru cel Bun in Pocuția, in 1432), established the boundaries between Moldavia and Poland. The act stated: «And between these towns Țețina and Hmielov and our Country Russia will be this border: first between our town Sneatin and Șipeniț – Șipeniț that belongs to Moldavia, these are separated by the Kolachin river, and from the Kolachin river to the great river Dniester, above the village Potok, which village Potok belongs to Moldavia, and from this village down on the Nistru river, up to the [Black] Sea belongs to the Country of Moldavia, and over the shores of the Dniester river is our Country of Russia». As is indicated by this act, Hotin was in possession of Moldavia. But disputes for the throne between Iliăș and Petru will determine the first to request the support of Polish, making them a concession, namely offering them Șipeniț Country, «the country which Moldavia had from Crown, with the towns of this Șipeniț Country namely Hotin, Țețina and Hmielov and with all districts, places and villages of this country we giving them back. Iliăș justified the fortress' relinquishment as a reward for the Alexandru cel Bun predatory campaign in Pocuția"¹⁶. But the document indicates that the Poles took over the territory because the Moldavia Country "had it from the Crown", meaning that the owner has returned what is his.

The next phase related to the political evolution of the Șipeniț territory was recorded during the reign of Ștefan cel Mare (1457-1504). "From Poland, Ștefan claimed the land which his predecessor Iliăș left (promising also to return Șipeniț Country), i.e. the Pocuția. Yet before getting up on the throne the new King Jan Olbracht (...) Ștefan permeated in Pocuția and picked up in the dominion (1490). Jan Olbracht could not tolerate long time this humiliation and to receive such a significant damage; so in the year 1497 (...) began an expedition against Moldavia. At first, the young King, however, does not present him self as an enemy of Ștefan; contrariwise, he promised to help him to get back Chilia and Cetatea Albă"¹⁷. After the Poles attack and battles at Codrii Cosminului and Lențești, Moldavia keeps the disputed territory; According to N. Iorga, "Șipeniț Country, meaning Pocuția" is not "the true" Pocuția from the South of Halici Country. "In the years of old age, Ștefan had just one wish: to strengthen his domination in Pocuția and to snatch the recognition of this domination from Polish King. At 1502, fall, immediately after the death of Jan Olbracht, not recognizing the Treaty of 1499 towards his descendant *Alexander*, who was, however, an old friend of Moldavians, Ștefan put his hand across the Land on which he has having a right. Everywhere *Russians* of Orthodox law received him with joy, the Moldavian governor (pârcălab) and customs officer seated in all the fortresses of the Land, till Halici. King Alexander could not find any support against Moldavians: with the Turks and Tatars Ștefan has stood in peace, and they do not take

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 69-70.

¹⁷ Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria românilor ...*, p. 121-122.

a dare to try anything against him. The far *Tsar of Moscow, Ivan*, was a relative, by the marriage of the Ștefan's daughter Elena, with the Tsar's successor. The new situation in Pocutsia, be the power of Moldavian weapons remained, so, untouched"¹⁸. Therefore, this time, Ștefan cel Mare came in possession of "the true" Pocuția, beyond the Kolachin River – the Southern part of Galiția.

To note in this context that the disputed territory – Șipeniț Country and Pocuția – do not concern the South half of the future Bukovina: the Moldova River Valley – the old hearth of the Moldavian State, where was built the monastery of Moldovița, so much the less the old capital Suceava and other ancient localities (Ștefan cel Mare built churches at Reuseni and Bădăuți¹⁹, not to insist on the monastery of Putna).

The descendant of Ștefan cel Mare, Bogdan III *the Blind* (1504-1517), for a Royal link – for becoming relatives with the King of Poland (he asked for one of his sisters) – "was able to immolate *Pocuția*". The Lord of Moldavia has ceded the region, but the Polish King did not send the bride. "Failing towards the new King *Sigismund*, who was to reign in Moldavia if Jan Olbracht would be a winner in 1497, Bogdan gets angry and raids over in Poland, trying to take control again in Pocuția (1506)"²⁰. "When the Poles try to take revenge, they could not make a stunt (...); the war was at a stop from a time (1510) by both parties fatigue"²¹. Pocuția remained under the Polish domination in the effect.

Referring to Petru Rareș (1527-1538, 1541-1546), the historian Iorga writes that he was "a neighbor bent to interfere continually in the domestic affairs of Poland, through Pocuția and of Hungary by Transylvania"²². "With great prowess Petru-Vodă prepared his attack on Pocuția, keeping talking with the Polish and getting the permission from the Sultan"²³. "With much easiness Petru was able to get this way Pocuția. Poles did not have a permanent army, but had fought only with the *mercenary*, which necessitate money, and the Kingdom did not want to pay, or with the routs of nobles, which gathering very slowly; castles were badly defended. But if Petru thought that to conquer Pocuția means to keep it, he was all wet. Poland has great generals, and especially Jan Tarnowski, famous everywhere. Thus, when a Polish Army had the chance to gather again, Pocuția got again quickly under the King's domination. However, Petru didn't want to leave this like that, but in a strong rushing, he got in the heart of the province. Then, on 22 August 1531, the fight from Obertyn took place, where the tactics of Tarnowski, who commended the army himself, the mastery of his gunners, has overcome Rareș; our Lord lost the guns from

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 124.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 151.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

Feldioara, and run, with three wounds on the body, to Moldavia. Petru, who sent forth the routs of predators, among which *Turks* and *Tatars*, in the country which he could not keep, judged this way the Obertyn affliction, in way that shows from what high point of view our people from the past looked at the defeats and needs which were coming upon them: «Do not be proud, for his win the King, hath he did not got it with his self power, but with luck, that changes often; and did not conquered the King, but God, who punishes Lords for their great confidence in them self»²⁴. As a result of the actions of Petru Rareș it seems that Moldavia has resigned with the loss of "the true" Pocuția – beyond Kolachin, as well as with the amount of money borrowed by Petru I Mușat to Polish Kingdom. But Poland has acquired subsequent the Hotin fortress from Moldavians.

The following historical moment linked to the territory in dispute was the one relating to the period from the reign of Alexandru Lăpușneanu (1552-1561, 1564-1568). Pointing out that his reign meant "disunity, cruelty and losses towards foreigners", Iorga pointed out: "From now on Moldavia did not take a dare to ask from Poles, seriously, Pocuția; if, thanks to the Turkish demands, *Hotin* become Moldavian again, Alexandru-Vodă does not reinforce it, but contrariwise, commanded, in his second reign, to broken walls, that can no longer be a threat to neighbors beyond the Dniester and, especially, to the Turks, who wanted that never from the country over which Ștefan and Petru Rareș held sway over cannot rises any distress for them"²⁵. However, Ioan Voda cel Cumplit (1572-1574) "held up Pocuția"²⁶. Nevertheless, the question had been clarified, meaning that the border between Moldavia and Poland settled on the Rivers Cheremush, Kolachin and Hotin.

However, Poland has demanded on several occasions from Ottoman Porte the area from the Moldavian framework, which can be identified as the Șipeniț Country. By "capitulations" (treaties) between Moldavia and Ottoman Empire – basic element of Moldavian-Turkish relations in medieval times, the Porte did not cede it. The first capitulation was completed in 1511 by Bogdan, the Prince of Moldavia, and the second one, by Petru Rareș, in 1529. These agreements stipulated that "The Porte is obliged to defend Moldavia against any aggression" and that "The borders of Moldavia will be keep intact throughout their extent"²⁷. Although some historians dispute the authenticity of the "capitulations" principle of taking under protection of a State that has voluntarily subjected its borders and defence (in return for a tribute) by the suzeran power is known in the Islamic world, which has belonged the Ottoman Empire too. In 1699 it ended a conflict between the Ottoman Empire and the Polish State by the peace of Karlowitz. The northern part of the Moldavia Country, which

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 153-154.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

²⁷ Mihai Eminescu, *Basarabia* [Bessarabia], Sibiu, Editura Mileniul Trei, 1990, p. 19.

was under the occupation of Poland, was restored. About the peace concluded, the Moldavian chronicle says: "The Poles still hardly demanded Country of Moldavia, but the Turks answered to Poles about the Country of Moldavia that they can not give the Country of Moldavia to be them a gift because it is free, it is dedicated to the Turks, it is not taken with the sword. Thus, the Poles seeing that, agreed this way: in the fortresses and monasteries they took and other places, everything to give back the Moldavians. And Turks to return Camenița fortress to Poles, with all its land, and Ukraine, and to raise the all the Nohai from Bugeac and to remove them beyond river Don, only the Tatars from Bugeac to be able to remain. And Turks never will repair Hotin, or another fortress in Moldavia the Turks will nor build"²⁸. In the 1700s the Polish King sent an envoy to Istanbul in order "to show for Ottoman dragomans the instability from Moldavian-Polish border and to ask for a correction of borders for the benefit of the Kingdom, by including Hotin and Cernăuți counties in its composition. The Ottoman Porte still did not cede and the borders were re-established by the Treaty of Delimitation of 14 October 1703, on the previous line before the war"²⁹.

Slightly later, Austria began to claim on the territory of Moldavia. At the end of the 17th century, Transylvania entered within the Austrian Empire as an autonomous Principality. In 1685 the Austrian troops entered territory of Transylvania, and, in 1699, by the Treaty of Karlowitz (Sremski Karlovci, in present-day Serbia), the Ottoman Empire ceded to Austria: Hungary, Transylvania, Croatia and Slavonia. Banat of Timișoara remained in the Ottoman Empire, but was annexed by Austria in 1718 by the Treaty of Passarowitz (Požarevac). In 1718, in an answer given to the Austrian authorities, who demanded Moldavia, the Ottomans used the same argument – they can not cede Moldavia Country because it's "dedicated, not conquered with the sword". After 1793, after the second partition of Poland, Austria came into possession of Galiția and it oriented its claims on a part of Moldavia – its northwestern side.

The annexation of the North-Western Moldavia (future Bukovina) by Austria

In 1775 we consign the moment of annexation by Austria of the North-Western part of Moldavia. "Although at the peace of Passarowitz the Porte declared it may not yield the Country of Moldavia to Austria, being dedicated, not conquered with the sword, however, later it ceded Bukovina and Bessarabia in 1812, i.e. the Hotin district, a large part of land of Moldavia and the properly Bessarabia by the Danube River"³⁰. By the Treaty of Passarowitz from July 21, 1718 ended the war between the

²⁸ Ion Neculce, *Letopiseșul Țării Moldovei* [Chronicle of Moldavia], Chișinău, Editura Știința, 1993, p. 36.

²⁹ Ion Gumenăi, *Istoria Ținutului Hotin...*, p. 90-91.

³⁰ Mihai Eminescu, *Basarabia*, Chișinău, Editura Verba, 1991, p. 30.

Ottoman Empire on one side and the Habsburg monarchy and the Venetian Republic of the other part. Austrian imperial troops have defeated the Ottomans, which had ceded to the House of Habsburg Banat of Timișoara, Northern Serbia, including Belgrade, Northern Bosnia and Oltenia. However, after 21 years of administration (1718-1739), due to the increasingly large difficulties encountered by the Austrians, after the war of 1737 and 1739, ended by the peace of Belgrade, Austria returned Oltenia to Ottoman Empire.

In 1775, Turkey had breached the provisions of the capitulations with Moldavia and allowed the annexation of the North-Western Moldavia by Austria. There are several causes and motivations of the annexation of the North-Western Moldavia (named Bukovina by the Austrians). Iorga notes that "*The Austrians* would have wanted to use the war [from 1768-1774] in order to uproot once again *the Oltenian districts* from the Turks. Failing, they made a deal with the Russians, and thus, when peace was now settled, scouts passed in Upper Moldavia, under the word that they came to establish a *cordon* against the plague and the imperial troops had reached, lodging pillars of border, up to *Roman*. But the Government in Vienna found that this breach would be too scandalous, so they picked only the whole *Cernăuți district*, the *Câmpulung district* and the largest part of *Suceava district*, along with *Putna*, where is buried Ștefan cel Mare, and with *Suceava*, where the greatest Lords of Moldavia had resided. Boyars protested to no avail, and Turks were influenced to agree by gifts. So in 1775 is concluded the Convention which gave to Austria, under the name of *Bukovina* (the Moldavians were saying: *Cordun*), Upper Moldavia, with the most beautiful forests, the most brilliant monasteries and villages where were living better the conscience of old peasant's independence. The Austrians hurried to break any links between these Moldavians and the old Lord's Moldavia"³¹. Referring to the decision to restrict the lusts of the Emperor of Austria, the historian Ion Nistor's quoted a letter: "On 19 June 1773, and Emperor Joseph visited Transylvania and reaching the Saxon's Reghin wrote from there to his mother, Empress: «I visited right now with trecătoarele and Ciuc and Gurgh with the passes leading in Moldavia, as well as a part of the territory occupied in 1769. This is a real wildness, covered with beautiful trees, but which rot without any use. If by returning of that territory to Moldavia, otherwise pretty stretched, but almost without any value, being uncultured and unpopulated, we might get the corner of Moldavia that touches and Transylvania, Maramureș and Pocuția, then it would make a useful stunt and therefore I would ask your Majesty to request Kaunitz to take into deliberation this issue». The corner of Moldavia that was mentioned by Joseph in his letter was the Upper Country of Moldavia, named after the occupation, Bukovina. But without waiting for response, Emperor Joseph II charged Carol Enzenberg, commander of the 2nd Regiment of the

³¹ Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria românilor...*, p. 288-289.

Romanian border guards from Năsăud, with the discreet mission to pass in Moldavia in order to collect information on the popular masses spirit and attitude of Moldavians in the case of a possible Austrian occupation"³². After the Austro-Turkish agreement from 1775 on the illegal cession of the North-Western Moldavia, "in a letter addressed on 4 February 1775 to his son and her co-regent Joseph II, Empress Maria Theresa said that she is not right in the issue of the cession and that this matter is doing a press on her conscience and she did not know how escape honorable from this abashment. From these considerations they have recourse to the appointment of the attached province, by famous beech forests - *silvae faginale* – named by chroniclers *bucovine* - after slavic name *buk* - beech, which ranged throughout the Upper Country of Moldavia, stretching out between Prut and Dniester as *small bucovins*, and between the Prut and the Valley of the upper Ceremuș as *large bucovins* - *silvae faginales* or *bucovinae maiores* or *dictae minores*. And so it came to the name of *Bucovina/Bukovina* - Buchenland – for the Upper Moldavia Country, occupied by the Habsburgs and incorporated within their empire"³³. Austria called the two lands of the frontier "*Bukovyna*, to cover the territorial spoils in the eyes of European diplomacy"³⁴. Pressing of consciousness did not prevent the Maria Theresa to agree "the devouring" by the State apparatus of the Moldavian territory annexed to Austria, so those remorse were not anything but tears of a crocodile before to devour the victim.

Ion Nistor referred to some causes and motivations of the Austrian annexation. He confirmed the Iorga's thesis about annexation of North-Western Moldavia "for account of" Oltenia, mentioning the most often cited motif – the need to obtain a strip of routes linking Galiția with Transylvania: "By the Act of partition of Poland between the three neighboring powers – Russia, Austria and Prussia – august 5, 1772, Austria is in possession of Pocuția, Lodomeria and Galiția, incorporating within the Habsburg empire an area of 81 900 km², with a population of more millions souls. But in its insatiable lust for further territorial purchases, the Government from Vienna is looking to exploit the weakness of the Porte, trying to grab Oltenia, as a reward for its role of mediator between Russians and Turks. But as the occupation of Oltenia would woke up too much noise among Western powers, which agreed to hold up Poland in order to save the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, the Vienna Government endeavoured to obtain in exchange for the claims on Oltenia an extend of territory in Upper Moldavia Country, which was less exposed to the European powers, seeking to materialize their claims by occupying a narrow strip of land in Moldavia, in order to be able to open a more convenient way of communication between Transylvania and

³² Ion Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei* [History of Bukovina], București, Editura Humanitas, 1991, p. 9.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 15-16.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 398.

Galiția, although they existed long before, through Körösmező pass, leading from Galiția to Maramureș, by the upper Valley of the Prut and Tisa to Sighetul Marmăției"³⁵. The reason for obtaining a road between Galiția and Transylvania has been communicated to the Moldavian authorities from Iași, but they have exposed the act of annexation of a stretched territory, under the pretext of invoking "the necessity" of a strip for a road link between Galiția and Transylvania: "Information collected by Enzenberg in Moldavia came true by the fact that the Moldavia's nobility, led by Prince Grigore Ghica opposed to the Austrian occupation, sending over memoirs to Porte, accompanied by maps by which denounced to Porte the Austria, under the pretext of opening of a road between Galiția and Transylvania, and wants to occupy two of the most wealthy lands of Moldavia. Austria did not consider the Moldavians protest"³⁶. In 1814, the Habsburg authorities have finished the construction of the road "by which Austria said, at the annexation of Bukovina, it needs to link Galiția with Transylvania"³⁷. Another formal motif of Austrians was to set up a health cordon against the epidemic of plague, "which is much ebbed in Moldavia"³⁸.

The reason of annexation by a state of a foreign territory of another state for a need regarding a road course seemed ridiculous even in that time. Therefore, Austrian specialists in strategies have resorted to another reason: after incorporating Galiția within the Austrian Empire, Vienna Court claimed its right (taken over from Poland) to put the problem of the territory that throughout history has been in dispute (between Poland – as a possessor of Galiția and Moldavia): "As the reason for taking this strip of the North-Western Moldavia in order to obtain the connection between Transylvania and Galiția was not sufficiently convincing, they tried to make other arguments, more thorough. Then they launched the hypothesis that Northern Moldavia would have belonged to the Pocuția (a county situated between the rivers Prut, White Cheremush and Black Cheremush), which now had been annexed by Austria and the Vienna Court and would demand the "historic rights" on this county. Colonel Seeger had left recently to Warsaw, to collect historical evidence in favour of Austria pretensions on Bukovina, since Kaunitz has taken the decision to claim from Turkey this territory as part of Pocuția"³⁹. The Austrians would be "identified" even the old frontier between Pocuția (Șipeniț Country) and Moldavia: "Already in may 1774, two detachments of Austrian Hussars, under the pretext of a repair, have entered into Bukovina, so that immediately after the departure of the Russians to take over this territory and to fix the terminals of the frontier along the new border lines

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8-9.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³⁹ Constantin Ungureanu, *Bucovina în perioada stăpânirii austriece (1774-1918)* [Bukovina in the time of Austrian rule, 1774-1918], Chișinău, Editura Civitas, 2003, p. 10-11.

already drawn by Mieg. During his journey in Bukovina, the captain Mieg spotted a mane of hills and mountains, which, with some interruptions, stretched from Hotin to Transylvania and which he regarded as a natural border very favorable towards Moldavia. Mieg even "discovered" a milestone, and this was interpreted as evidence that the times Poland borders would be stretched up to the ridge of the hills. In addition, Colonel Seeger, who was in Poland, worked to support the Mieg's opinion by historical data. These successes have been accepted in full by the Court of Vienna, and for these merits Captain Mieg was elevated to the rank of major"⁴⁰. It should be noted that Austria had hoped to obtain the fortress Hotin with the surrounding area, or even several villages in the northern part of Hotin County, but Turkish authorities have retained their territory which they have annexed in 1715.

It deserves to be evoked some concrete means by which Austria has come into possession of the North-Western Moldavia: "On 10/21 July the Treaty of Kuchuk – Kainarji was signed by Russia and Ottoman Porte, and the Russians even in April 1774 did withdraw a part of the troops stationed in Cernăuți and Suceava counties. Then the most favorable moment to make the planned annexation has come. Marshal Rumeantsev was bribed with 5,000 golden and a gold tobacco holder, obtaining the tacit consent of authorities of Russia for the Austria claims"⁴¹.

Therefore, there were several **motifs** for the annexation of the North-Western Moldavia by Austria:

1. The imposition of a cordon against the plague ("which burned down long time before in Moldavia");

2. "The need" to annex "a strip" (in reality, two big districts were annexed) from the territory of Moldavia for the construction of a road linking Transylvania with Galiția;

3. The historical rights of the Pocuția (i.e., Galiția), which have come in possession of Austria, on the North of Moldavia (Șipeniț County).

Among the **causes** of annexation we can name:

- a) "insatiable hunger for new territorial acquisitions; lust for the expansion of the Empire and seizing new territories bringing profit;
- b) to compensate for the loss of another territory Oltenia – in this case, with the North-Western Moldavia;
- c) a desire to have a strategic area to be pursued in a subsequent expansion in Moldavia and Wallachia, respectively in the Danube region and in the Eastern Balkans.

Although in the 143 years of Austrian occupation the territory has been subjected to colonization and assimilation processes – Ukrainization (especially from

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

1786, when it was incorporated into Galicia, until 1849, when it obtained a statute of autonomy, and became a Duchy under the Empire) in 1918 Bukovina issue has been solved by the reincorporating of the North-Western Moldavia (hereinafter referred to as the Austrian Bukovina) in Romanian state, founded in 1859, including by the Principality of Moldavia (which the Bukovinian territory had been broken of, at 1775). This triumph of justice and historical truth had been possible thanks to Romanians from Bukovina, but also due to the negotiations of Romania with the Entente States: "One of the conditions of the secret Treaty, through which the Romanian Government entered into war together with the Entente Powers, was beside regaining Transylvania, also the regaining of Bucovina, down to the Prut River with its capital Cernăuți, in which the Russians only after lengthy negotiations renounced and after it was demonstrated the notability of this small town for the political, ecclesiastical, cultural and economic life of Bukovina. The secret Treaty of recovering of Bukovina and Transylvania was signed in Bucharest on 4/17 august 1916"⁴².

Thus, Russia was intended to incorporate the extension, at the North of Hotin County, of the territory between Prut and Dniester rivers (Bessarabia). In June 1940, when the Soviet Union included in the diplomatic note (ultimatum) the demand regarding the annexation of the Northern Bukovina, the Soviets wanted to secure a direct and short link between Galiția and Bessarabia, including a railway which connects Bessarabia with Galiția. By collapse of the Russian Empire, Romania has been able to incorporate the entire Moldavian historical territory (including the Bukovinian territory between Prut and Dniester rivers, located north of the Hotin County) that Austria had annexed in 1775.

By annexation on June 28, 1940, of the Northern Bukovina by the totalitarian and aggressor Soviet Union, the problem of Bukovina was reopened. After August 24, 1991 – the day of Declaration of independence of Ukraine – the historical Moldavian (Romanian) territory of Northern Bukovina is under the control of the authorities from Kiev.

Solutions

After the incorporation of North-Western Moldavia in the Habsburg Empire, several variants of administrating that territory were proposed, which, by extension, since then, could be seen as some solutions to the problem of Bukovina. "Some expressed the opinion to include Bukovina in military confine of Năsăud. Others were for joining [of Bukovina] to Galiția. An intermediate solution was of those who stipulated cutting in half of the Bukovinian territory, so that the Northern part to be

⁴² Ion Nistor, *Istoria Bucovinei...*, p. 371.

annexed to Galiția, and the Southern to the confine of border guards from Năsăud. (...) A single voice acted for the creation of an autonomous province of Bukovina, in order to to acquire on the way this *sympathy and confidence of the Moldavian nation* (...)”⁴³. In June 1940, the Soviet Union invaded Northern Bukovina with the motivation that the Soviets take over that territory because "population [from that part of Bukovina] in its majority is related to Soviet Ukraine by the historic community of destiny, as well as through the national language and national [ethnic] composition". Also, the totalitarian Soviet authorities noted that "the transmission of that Northern part of Bukovina to the Soviet Union could represent – it is true only to a limited extent – a mean of compensating for that big damage, which has been brought to the Soviet Union and to the Bessarabia's population by 22 years of Romania's domination in Bessarabia"⁴⁴. In the light of the outcome of the processes of colonization with Ukrainian population (during the Austrian occupation), perhaps even the presence of old of a Ruthenian population in Șipeniț Country, a solution regarding the division of the territory of Bukovina, at the end of World War I, by the ethnic criterion, between Ukrainians and Romanians, would be circumscribed in the European process of solving of the problems of the peoples of the former Habsburg Empire. In accordance with the schedule of the *14 Points* of Woodrow Wilson, the peoples got the right to constitute *states* on their historical territories. Within the terms of remaining of the North-Western territory of Moldavia (the future Bukovina) within the Moldavian State (in 1775 the territory in question was poorly populated, having a population of 70-80 thousand inhabitants on an area of 10.442 km²), through its natural development, it would certainly have been an integral part of the territory of the ethnic Moldavian (Romanian) population. Because, during the Austrian occupation, by immigrant flows – especially Ukrainians from Galiția – it was reached a situation when, in 1918, in the Southern part of Bukovina the Romanian population was in the majority, and in the northern part the Ukrainians population was in the majority, a division of Bukovina by the ethnic criterion would be finally accepted (even if with a handshake heart for the loss of a historical Moldavian territory – of the Northern Bukovina) by the autochthonous Romanian population of the province. In June 1940, the Soviet authorities had committed an illegality against Romania, annexing a part of its national and historical territory. But the Soviets did not respect the reason/motivation from the diplomatic note (*ultimatum*): besides the illegality of an annexation of a territory which never belonged to any Ukrainian State, the crime of the Soviet authorities in 1940 consisted in the fact that the Soviet-Romanian political border has not been overlap on the ethnic border (between the two ethnic communities: Romanians and Ukrainians) as the Soviet authorities suggested that

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 27-28.

⁴⁴ *Pakt Molotova-Ribbentropa i ego posledstviia dlea Bessarabii* [Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and its consequences for Bessarabia], Chișinău, Editura Universitat, 1991, p. 19-20.

they wished to proceed. Furthermore, the Soviets annexed the Herța Region, with a compact and homogenous Romanian population, a zone that never was part of the Bessarabia or Bukovina – required by the USSR.

As in June 1940, the Soviet authorities have linked the issue of Bessarabia with the issue of Bukovina, I believe that at present the problem of Transnistria should be viewed in connection with the issue of ethnic Romanian community from the territory of the Northern Bukovina (now in Chernivtsi oblast). A solving of the problem of the Romanian community from the Northern Bukovina is possible by the passage of municipalities inhabited by Romanians (Moldavians) from the Northern Bukovina (and of the former county of Hotin) to the Republic of Moldavia, in return for passing of several areas of villages populated by Ukrainians or Russian speakers from Moldavian Transnistria within Ukraine. Regardless of the fact when this solution will be taken into account and proposed to Ukraine and to the international community by the Government from Chișinău, the Moldavian Executive must do all that is possible to help the autochthonous Romanian (Moldavian) population – from historical Moldavian estranged territories (Northern Bukovina) to preserve the ethnic identity. Currently, yet the processes of assimilation of the ethnic Romanians in Moldavian historical territories in Ukraine take proportions.

ПРОБЛЕМА ЦИВИЛИЗАЦИОННОГО ВЫБОРА В СТРАНАХ ЦЕНТРАЛЬНО-ВОСТОЧНОЙ ЕВРОПЫ ПОСЛЕ ПЕРВОЙ МИРОВОЙ ВОЙНЫ

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Rezumat: Chestiunea privind opțiunea asupra unei civilizații a țărilor din Europa Centrală și de Est după Primul Război Mondial. Autorul analizează prima încercare a popoarelor din Europa Centrală și de Est de a face o alegere între civilizații, precum și motivele pentru care aceasta nu a avut succes.

Abstract: The problem of civilizational choice in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe after the WWI. The author analyzes the first attempt of civilizational choice made by the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe after WWI as well as the reasons that explain why it turned out an unsuccessful one.

Résumé: La question concernant l'option sur une civilisation des pays de l'Europe Centrale et d'Est après la Première Guerre Mondiale. L'auteur y analyse le premier essai des peuples de l'Europe Centrale et d'Est de choisir entre les civilisations, ainsi que les raisons pour lesquelles celui-ci n'a pas eu du succès.

Keywords: civilizational choice, traditional society, modernization, democracy, nationalism, authoritarian dictatorships.

Как известно, одним из наиболее важных итогов Первой мировой войны стало образование новых государств в Центральной и Восточной Европе, главным образом на территории бывшей Габсбургской монархии. Некоторые из народов, входившие в состав Австро-Венгрии, получили долгожданный исторический шанс обрести собственную государственность (или – в случае поляков – восстановить когда-то утраченную), что фактически и было целью их национальных движений в течение длительного времени. Это во многом объясняет ту поистине всенародную эйфорию, в атмосфере которой происходило формирование независимых государств, эйфорию, которая, увы, вскоре приобрела явно националистическую окраску.

Понятно, что создание национальных государств имело, несомненно, важнейшее значение для народов распавшейся империи Габсбургов. Однако, на наш взгляд, этим, то есть собственно обретением независимости и государственного суверенитета, значение данного явления не исчерпывалось. Народы, получившие возможность создать национальную государственность в резуль-

тате Первой мировой войны, одновременно должны были решать ещё одну, не менее важную задачу, а именно: выбрать форму этой государственности, то есть её общественно-политическое устройство, экономическую модель, идеологию. От решения этой задачи в значительной степени зависело направление их последующего исторического развития.

В связи с этим стоит напомнить, что в XX век большинство народов Австро-Венгерской империи вступили, фактически оказавшись на периферии европейской (западной) цивилизации, существенно уступая по многим показателям общественного прогресса индустриальным государствам Западной Европы и Северной Америки. Объясняется это общественно-политическими и социально-экономическими условиями их предыдущего, несамостоятельного во всех аспектах исторического развития. Примерно с середины XVII в. население обширного региона к востоку от Одера обречено было пройти, как заметил современный исследователь западной цивилизации Роджер Осборн, «период экономического и общественного застоя, который развел восточную и западную части Европы в разные стороны»¹. Поэтому в повестке дня их общественного бытия в конце XIX – начале XX вв. особое место занял действительно судьбоносный вопрос, который можно было бы сформулировать следующим образом: как наверстать потерянное время и выбрать наиболее оптимальный путь развития, чтобы преодолеть своё, по сути, *цивилизационное* – сравнительно с передовыми странами западного мира – отставание.

Ответ представлялся очевидным – выбор нужно было сделать в пользу либерально-демократической, индустриально-рыночной, то есть западной, модели общественного устройства, которая в тот исторический период убедительно демонстрировала свои преимущества. Для этого необходимо было осуществить модернизацию всего комплекса общественных отношений, что предусматривало внедрение соответствующих либерально-демократических институтов, проведение индустриализации, формирование развитого рыночного хозяйства и т. д., что и определило бы переход от традиционного общества к индустриальному. Кстати, заметим, что исторический контекст проблемы модернизации центрально-восточноевропейского региона привлекает внимание всё большего числа исследователей. Так, недавно появилась интересная работа польского историка Яцека Кохановича «Отсталость и модернизация: Польша и Восточная Европа в XVI – XX вв.»².

Таким образом, объективно, самой логикой исторического процесса создание национальной государственности в рассматриваемом регионе означало вместе с тем и выбор *цивилизационного пути развития*.

¹ Р. Осборн, *Цивилизация. Новая история Западного мира* [Civilization: A New History of the Western World], Москва, 2008, с. 382 – 383.

² J. Kochanowicz, *Backwardness and Modernization: Poland and Eastern Europe in the 16th – 20th Centuries*. (Variorum collected studies series), Aldershot (GB) – Burlington (USA), 2006, 336 p.

Следует заметить, что и победители в Первой мировой войне в лице правящих кругов стран Антанты и США были заинтересованы именно в таком выборе. Кроме укрепления собственного политического влияния в данном регионе, они преследовали здесь ещё одну, важную для себя цель: ликвидацию авторитарного наследия распавшихся империй и форсирование процессов демократизации – разумеется, в соответствии с западными стандартами – в образовавшихся государствах-преемниках Австро-Венгрии. Действительно, условия мирного послевоенного устройства, разработанные на Парижской мирной конференции, недвусмысленно предусматривали продвижение демократии и ускоренное становление конституционно-представительских режимов в Центральной и Восточной Европе. Другими словами, вместе с предоставлением возможности создания национальной государственности и её признанием со стороны великих держав народам данного региона была предложена – фактически в качестве обязательного условия – и модель этой государственности, опять же в соответствии с западными критериями. Её принятие и внедрение должно было содействовать началу или ускорению (в зависимости от уровня развития страны) процесса модернизации социально-экономических отношений, политической культуры, духовной жизни и т. д., что привело бы к трансформации традиционного общества в индустриальное и означало бы изменение цивилизационной парадигмы.

И, наконец, отмеченная заинтересованность руководства ведущих западных стран объясняется также и тем обстоятельством, что к концу Первой мировой войны перед народами распадавшейся империи Габсбургов стала вырисовываться ещё одна, совершенно новая цивилизационная перспектива, предложенная Советской Россией. Это вызвало на Западе большую тревогу, тем более, что в образованных на обломках Австро-Венгрии государствах появились силы, выступавшие в поддержку этой перспективы, которая представляла явную альтернативу западной модели развития. Именно в этом контексте следует рассматривать создание Венгерской Советской Республики, провозглашение Словацкой советской республики в Прешове в 1919 г., советское движение рабочих в Данциге и т.д. Планы правительства Советской России предоставить военную помощь Советской Венгрии и Словакии, раздуть «пламя революционной борьбы» в Польше, казалось бы, подтверждали серьёзность «советского вызова».

Как известно, новообразованные государства-преемники Австро-Венгрии сделали выбор в пользу западной модели государственно-политического и экономического развития.

И тут возникает целый ряд вопросов, которые могут стать предметом дискуссии и дальнейших научных изысканий.

Во-первых, был ли этот выбор добровольным со стороны народов государств-преемников, которым пришлось перейти к новой, по сути, для них общественной системе, или предопределённым волей «архитекторов» послевоенного устройства мира, то есть фактически навязанным?

Во-вторых, был ли этот выбор сделан обществом в целом или прежде

всего лидерами национально-освободительных движений, являвшимися представителями местной, в первую очередь, интеллектуальной элиты, придерживавшейся прозападной, либерально-демократической ориентации? Вспомнить в этой связи хотя бы первого президента Чехословацкой республики Томаша Масарика, который в своё время воспринял доминировавшие в Америке ценности либерализма, неприемлемые в Австро-Венгрии. Как известно, в его жизни и деятельности ориентация на Запад, приверженность западной культуре в её англо-американском варианте играли первостепенную роль, и, можно сказать, стали существенным фактором, определившим межвоенную историю Чехословакии, общественно-политическое развитие которой происходило на основах демократии, с признанием приоритетности западных влияний³.

В-третьих, насколько массовой, сознательной и единодушной была общественная поддержка этого выбора или, пользуясь терминологией политологов, она имела сугубо ситуативный характер?

В-четвёртых, сложились ли объективные и субъективные предпосылки именно для *такого* выбора или произошло, так сказать, «равнение на победителей», то есть, что данный выбор в значительной, а возможно, и в решающей степени определялся результатами Первой мировой войны, а именно победой государств Антанты и США, которые воплощали модель индустриального общества?

И, наконец, в-пятых, почему этот цивилизационный выбор – прежде всего в плане осуществления общественно-политической и экономической модернизации – оказался в целом неудачным и кратковременным, уступив место в межвоенный период более привычным для народов бывшей монархии Габсбургов авторитарным формам правления (исключение составила лишь Чехословакия).

Не имея здесь возможности предложить – даже в краткой форме – возможные ответы на поставленные вопросы (именно возможные, потому что некоторые из них нуждаются в новых, углублённых исследованиях). Остановимся вкратце лишь на последнем вопросе.

Если рассматривать ситуацию в странах-преемниках Австро-Венгрии в первые послевоенные годы в контексте поставленной проблемы цивилизационного выбора, то она действительно заметно изменилась: к власти пришли силы, которые ориентировались на проведение реформ, направленных на обустройство либерально-демократического государства и переход к индустриальному обществу. Это, например, национал-либералы в Румынии, Демократическая партия в Сербии, Партия «Народовой демократии» в Польше, группа «Град» в Чехословакии. Инициатива во внутривнутриполитической жизни перешла к буржуазно-демократическим партиям, которые раньше не имели широкой социальной базы в обществе. Причиной их, на первый взгляд,

³ George J. Kovtun (ed.), *The spirit of Thomas G. Masaryk (1850- 1937): An anthology*, London, Macmillan Press, 1990, p. 13.

неожиданного лидерства была не только поддержка со стороны влиятельных политических кругов Запада, но и психологическая готовность этих сил и партий к слому старых государственных структур, дискредитированных в годы войны. Немаловажное значение также имело успешное сочетание в их деятельности либерально-демократических программных установок с идеями национального возрождения.

Демократизация общественно-политической жизни имела место – хотя и в разной степени – во всех странах-преемниках, которые переживали период национально-государственной консолидации.

Наиболее последовательно демократические преобразования были проведены в Польше и Чехословакии. Принятые здесь конституции юридически закрепляли республиканский строй и демократическую политическую систему, провозглашали основные демократические принципы и свободы, в том числе равенство всех граждан, независимо от происхождения, национальности, религиозной принадлежности. Выборы в парламент были общими, равными, прямыми, при тайном голосовании. Правительства были подотчётными парламенту. Характерно, что даже преамбула чехословацкой конституции 1920 г. буквально копировала начало Конституции США 1787 г., начинаясь словами: «Мы, Чехословацкий народ...».

В других странах-преемниках демократические преобразования имели не такой радикальный характер. В них демократические преобразования коснулись преимущественно сферы избирательного права, а также привели к формальному закреплению гражданских прав и свобод, ликвидации архаичных форм судопроизводства. Однако в этих странах сохранилась монархическая форма правления, а партии и движения либеральной ориентации стояли на довольно умеренных позициях.

Впрочем, оценивая ситуацию в целом, отметим, что, хотя процесс демократизации привёл к существенным изменениям в общественно-политической жизни этих стран, однако кардинально не изменил свойственные их населению политическую культуру, нормы социального поведения и традиции (исключение составляла Чехословакия, да и то с оговорками). При всей важности конституционного закрепления гражданских прав и свобод, многопартийности и парламентаризма, следует признать, что само по себе это не могло ликвидировать авторитарную политическую культуру традиционного общества, которая складывалась в данном регионе веками. Отсутствие же глубоких предпосылок для возникновения либерально-демократической идеологии делало процесс демократизации поверхностным и неустойчивым. К тому же буржуазно-демократические партии не смогли обеспечить себе реальную и широкую поддержку народа. Как оказалось, послевоенная политизация народных масс имела преимущественно импульсивно-эмоциональный характер, будучи обусловленной скорее общей эйфорией, которая сопровождала слом прежней государственности и получения независимости, чем осознанной готовностью к кропотливой, ежедневной работе по созданию новой общественной системы, что требовало совсем другого

уровня гражданской ответственности.

Уже первое послевоенное десятилетие показало, что широкие слои населения оказались психологически не готовыми к восприятию демократических порядков, а тем более – к активному участию в общественно-политической жизни в рамках стабильной конституционно-правовой системы. Как ни парадоксально, но сама возможность выбора, предполагавшая самостоятельность принимаемого решения и соответственно проявление личной ответственности, право свободного волеизъявления, как одно из важнейших преимуществ демократического строя, отпугивали и даже раздражали многих людей в странах-преемниках, привыкших к чётко организованной в социально-политическом отношении жизни, с устоявшимися традициями, с общепринятой иерархией ценностей и норм поведения (преданность монархии, вера в бога и т. д.).

Демократизация общественно-политической жизни могла бы быть более успешной, а следовательно, получить более ощутимую поддержку населения, если бы она подкреплялась весомыми достижениями в социально-экономической области. Сначала казалось, что это вполне реальная перспектива, ведь приход к власти буржуазно-демократических сил привёл к началу широкомасштабных внутренних реформ, которые были направлены на проведение аграрных преобразований, строительство или техническое переоборудование ряда отраслей отечественной промышленности, развитие банковско-финансовой сферы, усиление государственного регулирования трудовых отношений и т. д.

Однако, несмотря на определённые успехи первой волны реформ, в целом планы ускоренной модернизации по западным образцам не были выполнены. Это объяснялось рядом как внешних, так и внутренних причин.

Важным фактором, который негативно отразился на экономическом развитии стран-преемников, стала дезинтеграция экономического пространства бывшей Австро-Венгерской империи, что означало для них утрату постоянных рынков, разрыв устоявшихся связей, исчезновение единой финансовой системы и т. д. После войны в Европе появилось 27 новых валют вместо 14-ти довоенных и дополнительные 13 тыс. км новых границ (и соответственно множество дополнительных таможенных барьеров), которые отделили многие предприятия от традиционных источников сырья, металлургические заводы от каменноугольных бассейнов, районы сельскохозяйственного производства от рынков сбыта их продукции⁴. Экономические отношения между странами-преемниками оказались далеко не такими, как они виделись устроителям Парижской конференции. Возникали нелепые с экономической точки зрения ситуации. Проиллюстрируем это хотя бы на одном примере.

⁴ См., напр.: Stefan Karner, *From Empire to Republic: Economic Problems in a Period of Collapse, Reorientation, and Reconstruction*, in John Komlos (ed.), *Economic development in the Habsburg monarchy and in the Successor States: Essays*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1990.

Между государствами-преемниками возникали часто напряжённые, временами враждебные отношения, напрямую отражавшие на экономических связях. Так, между новообразованными Чехословакией и Австрийской республикой одно время были закрыты границы, из-за чего поставки сахара из Чехии и Моравии в Австрию прекратились; в результате последняя должна была импортировать его с Явы и Кубы (!), тогда как Чехословакия вынуждена была экспортировать излишки своего сахара в США⁵.

Осуществление экономической и социальной модернизации тормозилось и такими факторами, как недостаточная ёмкость внутреннего рынка, нехватка инвестиционных капиталов, неразвитость транспортной инфраструктуры, ограниченность сырьевой базы, патриархальность структуры самодеятельного населения и т. д. Последовательному и эффективному проведению аграрной реформы, которая, бесспорно, была ключевой проблемой для большинства стран восточноевропейского региона, оказывали сильное сопротивление крупные землевладельцы, традиционно имевшие значительное влияние на формирование внутривосточного курса. К тому же бремя осуществления программ индустриализации было возложено преимущественно на крестьянство, что весьма ухудшало его и без того нелёгкое положение. Подавляющая часть населения не могла быстро приспособиться к динамичным изменениям и противоречивым проявлениям процесса модернизации, что, в свою очередь, не только замедляло темпы реформ, но и существенно снижало их реальный экономический эффект, увеличивало государственные расходы на их проведение, усиливало социальное напряжение в обществе. Поэтому неудивительно, что спустя некоторое время такая ускоренная, направленная на слом вековых устоев общества модернизация, которая проводилась «сверху» достаточно узким кругом представителей буржуазно-демократической элиты, начала сталкиваться с постоянно растущим сопротивлением основных групп населения.

Ещё одним фактором, который, на наш взгляд, фатально отразился на судьбе того цивилизационного выбора, который был сделан странами-преемниками после Первой мировой, стал национализм.

Руководители великих государств надеялись, что национально-государственное размежевание в Центральной и Восточной Европе на основе принципа национального самоопределения гарантирует не только мир и добрососедские отношения между народами этого региона, но и поспособствует утверждению здесь демократических политических институтов вместо авторитарных, которые существовали ранее. «Но, – как писал Черчилль, – если сам по себе этот принцип был весьма прост и приемлем, то применить его на практике оказалось весьма трудным и спорным делом»⁶. Следует заметить, что большинство политиков и дипломатов Запада имели очень туманные

⁵ Stefan Karner, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

⁶ У. Черчилль, *Мировой кризис. Автобиография. Речи* [The World Crisis. The biography. The speeches], Москва, 2004, с. 260.

представления о народах бывшей монархии Габсбургов⁷, в результате чего творцы Версальской системы применяли этот принцип, исходя прежде всего из своих собственных геополитических интересов, и, как правило, не учитывая всего комплекса социально-политических, экономических, демографических, культурных факторов, определявших специфику образование независимых государств в центрально-восточноевропейском регионе, впрочем, как и полиэтнического состава его населения⁸. Явно недооценивались и напряжённые взаимоотношения между отдельными народами бывшей Австро-Венгрии, чреватые острыми межнациональными конфликтами. Так, в 1917 – 1918 гг., когда появилась перспектива образования Чехословацкого государства, венгерская пресса всячески запугивала словаков «аннекционистской политикой» чешских политиков, «чешским империализмом», стремящимся к их поглощению, полной ассимиляции и даже угрожающим самому существованию их как народа (хотя ещё недавно в той же прессе словаки рассматривались как часть венгерской нации)⁹. Более того, противопоставляя друг другу чехов и словаков и стремясь предотвратить объединение их в одном государстве, одна из венгерских газет 27 октября 1918 г. даже задавалась вопросом, почему бы словакам не провозгласить «свою полную независимость на основе вильсоновского права на самоопределение»¹⁰.

Взявшись определять на конференции судьбу народов распавшейся империи Габсбургов, руководители великих держав неоднократно демонстрировали отсутствие элементарных знаний их истории, географии, культуры. Например, Вильсон (который, кстати, до своего президентства был университетским профессором) и британский премьер-министр Ллойд-Джордж посылали своим экспертам записки, например, такого содержания: „Чехословаки – что это такое? Где находятся? И сколько их?“¹¹. Увы, и за 20 межвоенных лет эта высокомерная неосведомлённость западных политиков не была преодолена, что признал в канун подписания печально известного Мюнхенского соглашения в 1938 г. британский премьер-министр Невил Чемберлен: «Государства, о которых мы ничего не знаем»¹².

Таким образом непродуманное, часто механическое применение принципа самоопределения превратило его, как не без оснований отмечали некоторые интеллектуалы (например, Карл Поппер), в принцип саморазрушения, когда «освобождение» народов и этнических меньшинств из-

⁷ *Stredná Európa očami veľmoci, História*, „Revue o dejinách spoločnosti“, júl -august 2008, číslo 4, s. 54.

⁸ См. подробнее: А. И. Сыч, *Национальный аспект Версальской системы* [The national aspect of the Versailles system], in „Вопросы истории“, 2004, № 1, с. 126 – 133.

⁹ L. Vörös, *The social representation of the Slovaks in the north Hungarian Magyar Regional Press in the Years 1914 – 1918*, “Historický časopis, Historical Journal of the Institute of History of the Slovak Academy of Sciences“, Volume 56, 2008, Supplement, s. 66 – 69.

¹⁰ L. Vörös, *op. cit.*, s. 69.

¹¹ Цит. по: К. Ф. Новак, *Версаль* [Versailles], Москва – Ленинград, 1930, с. 87.

¹² Цит. по: *Stredná Európa očami veľmoci...*, s. 54.

под гнёта империй, которые распались, в действительности создавало ещё больше меньшинств, которые нередко имели более весомые причины для недовольства, чем раньше. Например, Королевство сербов, хорватов и словенцев, созданное из обломков Австро-Венгерской империи, являлось, по сути, искусственным государственным образованием, которое в силу этнической и религиозной розни, существовавшей между населявшими его народами, уже тогда казалось многим изначально нежизнеспособным¹³. По мнению известного британского историка Эрика Хобсбаума, «не имелось никаких исторических прецедентов или логики в комбинациях с Чехословакией и Югославией, создание которых явилось результатом националистической идеологии», а потому «все эти политические браки поневоле оказались не слишком прочными»¹⁴.

В результате такого, часто произвольного, национально-государственного размежевания возникли районы с компактным проживанием этнических меньшинств – немцев в Польше и Чехословакии, венгров – в Чехословакии, Румынии и будущей Югославии, украинцев и белорусов в Польше. Так, по Трианонскому мирному договору 1920 г. Венгрия потеряла не только почти 3/4 своей довоенной территории, но и около 2/3 довоенного населения¹⁵, вследствие чего свыше 2,5 млн. этнических венгров (составлявших четвертую часть всего венгерского населения), оказались в составе соседних государств. Хортистский режим признал Трианонский мирный договор 1920 г., установивший послевоенные границы Венгрии, но сразу же после этого начал призывать к его пересмотру, разжигая шовинизм внутри страны. Поэтому идея «ревизионизма», положенная в основу внешней политики Венгрии в межвоенный период, была, фигурально выражаясь, «запрограммирована» решениями Парижской конференции.

По-видимому чувствуя, что заключенные на конференции договоры вскоре могут стать источником острых межнациональных и межгосударственных конфликтов, «архитекторы новой Европы» пытались предотвратить их возникновение, включив в текст мирных договоров специальные статьи относительно положения и прав этнических меньшинств. Черчилль свидетельствовал: «Необходимо прибавить, что во все договоры, касающиеся границ новых государств, были внесены точные и подробные установления, имевшие целью защитить национальные меньшинства, обеспечить им справедливое отношение и предоставить им полное равноправие»¹⁶.

Но, как показало уже ближайшее время, этого оказалось недостаточно, потому что националистические правительства новообразованных государств а

¹³ Оскар Ференбах, *Крах и возрождение Германии. Взгляд на европейскую историю XX века* [The collapse and revival of Germany. A look at European history of the twentieth century], Москва, 2001, с. 285.

¹⁴ Э. Хобсбаум, *Эпоха крайностей: Короткий двадцатый век (1914 – 1991)* [The Age of Extremes: A History of the World, 1914-1991], Москва, 2004, с. 43 – 44.

¹⁵ M. W. Shoemaker, *The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe 1990*, Washington, 1990, p. 260.

¹⁶ У. Черчилль, *указ соч.*, с. 284.

пригоди не могли придерживаться демократической политики в отношении меньшинств. Действительно, лидеры национальных движений, придя к власти, стали всячески подчёркивать языковые и культурные различия между народами, раздувать и муссировать «исторические обиды», нанесённые их нации другими народами, пренебрегать традиционными связями и экономическими интересами, выдвигать претензии к соседям. Весьма показательным в этом отношении было высказывание отражавшего взгляды национал-демократов Станислава Грабского (в 1919 г. глава комиссии по иностранным делам Сейма, позже - министр культуры): «Мы хотим учредить наши отношения на любви, но существует один тип любви для соотечественников, а другой – для чужестранцев. Процент последних в нашем населении явно очень высокий. Иностранные элементы должны будут подумать, не будет ли им лучше убраться вон! Польская земля для поляков!»¹⁷.

Установленные ими режимы во вновь созданных или реорганизованных государствах, писал Хобсбаум, «тяготели к национализму, отчасти из-за недовольства политикой иностранных государств, проигранными войнами или прогнившими империями, отчасти оттого, что размахивание национальным флагом обещало власти легитимность и популярность»¹⁸.

Идеология национализма, взятая на вооружение правящими кругами государств-преемников, сыграла пагубную роль в судьбе сделанного цивилизационного выбора, по крайней мере в силу двух причин.

Во-первых, что между молодыми государствами, возглавляемыми националистически мыслящими политиками, как уже отмечалось выше, сразу же начались ссоры, возникли территориальные претензии и даже вооружённые конфликты (спор между Югославией и Румынией из-за Баната с городом Темешвар, конфликт между поляками и чехами из-за герцогства Тешен в бывшей австрийской Силезии, польско-украинская война за Восточную Галицию, оккупация Польшей Вильно и Виленского края). В течение 1919 - 1922 гг. в этом регионе вспыхнуло не менее 20 малых войн и конфликтов¹⁹. Как писал Ллойд-Джордж «Только что освобождённые народы Южной Европы готовы были перегрызть друг другу глотку в погоне за лучшими кусками наследства умерших империй»²⁰. Особенно воинственно вела себя Польша, которая умело играя на стремлении Франции опять иметь на Востоке союзника как противовес Германии (вместо царской России) и используя страх правящих кругов Великобритании перед «распространением большевизма» в Европе, вынудила западные страны признать её новые границы, несмотря на то, что её территория в начале 20-х годов вследствие проведения откровенно силовой

¹⁷ Цит. по: R. Blanke, *Orphans of Versailles*, Lexington, 1993, p. 63 - 64.

¹⁸ Э. Хобсбаум, *Эпоха крайностей*, с. 126.

¹⁹ П. Джонсон, *Современность. Мир с двадцатых по девяностые годы* [Modern Times: The World from the Twenties to the Nineties], ч. 1, Москва, 1995, с. 50.

²⁰ Д. Ллойд-Джордж, *Правда о мирных договорах* [Adevărul despre tratatele de pace], Москва, 1957, с. 267. Д. Ллойд-Джордж, *Правда о мирных договорах* [The Truth about the Peace Treaties], Москва, 1957, с. 267.

экспансии оказалась вдвое большей, чем предусматривалось решениями Парижской конференции. Тот же Ллойд-Джордж свидетельствовал: «Никто не причинял нам столько неприятностей, как поляки. Опьянённая молодым вином свободы, которым её снабдили союзники, Польша снова вообразила себя безраздельной хозяйкой Центральной Европы. Принцип самоопределения не соответствовал её домогательствам»²¹. Заканчивая в 1929 г. свою известную книгу „Мировой кризис”, Черчилль констатировал: «Центральная и Южная Европа разбились на части, воспалённые резким национализмом, отделённые одна от другой враждой и завистью, таможенными тарифами и местными вооружениями»²².

Во-вторых, в силу так сказать генетической несовместимости демократии и национализма, последний, в сущности, предопределил и ускорил формирование в центрально-восточноевропейском регионе авторитарных диктатур, что неизбежно сопровождалось свёртыванием демократии и демонтажем многопартийных парламентских систем, что в корне изменило не только характер политического развития стран-преемников, но и привело к окончательному свёртыванию модернизационных реформ, приостановило начатое после войны 1914 – 1918 гг. процесс «догоняющего развития». Опорой диктатур были армейские и монархические круги, а также церковь и государственная бюрократия, то есть консервативные силы традиционного общества. Однако, следует признать, что диктаторские режимы нашли и достаточно широкую общественную поддержку. С постепенной стабилизацией общественно-политической жизни, с одной стороны, и нарастанием социально-экономических проблем, обусловленных ускоренной модернизацией, которая вела к слому устоявшихся форм существования, с другой, в массах рождалось желание вернуться к привычному укладу жизни, увидеть во главе государства «сильного человека», способного навести «порядок» и обуздать реформаторский запал прозападно ориентированных политиков. Значительной части населения были более близкими и более понятными патриархальные моральные ценности и лозунги националистов с их пониманием народа как внеклассовой общности, чем привнесённые или заимствованные либерально-демократические идеи с такими понятиями, как гражданская ответственность, свобода индивидуального выбора и т.д. Именно такая, унаследованная от прошедших времен, общественно-политическая ориентация масс и стала важной причиной слабости демократических институтов и быстрого усиления авторитарных тенденций в общественной жизни стран Восточной Европы. При этом степень реального привлечения народа к политической жизни неуклонно сокращалась. Также примечательно, что к отходу от демократических методов управления оказалась полностью готовой и правящая элита этих стран, о чём свидетельствует хотя бы та легкость, с которой даже правительства,

²¹ Д. Ллойд-Джордж *указ. соч.*, с. 268.

²² У. Черчилль, *указ. соч.*, с. 284.

образованные буржуазно-либеральными партиями, переходили к жёстким, репрессивным методам реализации тех или иных политических задач.

После Первой мировой войны некоторые народы Центральной и Восточной Европы, получив собственную государственность, получили исторический шанс перейти на «рельсы» цивилизационного развития, характерного для ведущих стран Западной Европы и Северной Америки. Но попытка начать «догоняющий развитие» и осуществить соответственно ускоренную модернизацию имеющихся общественных отношений закончилась неудачей. Фактически большинство населения стран-преемников не восприняло или, скорее, не было к ней готово. Проведённая преимущественно благодаря давлению извне демократизация оказалась в значительной мере формальной и поверхностной. Под влиянием победы западных демократий в Первой мировой войне была сделана попытка перенести на местную почву характерные для них политические структуры и конституции (французского, британского, а в некоторых случаях – швейцарского образца). Однако, как остроумно заметил известный американский историк венгерского происхождения Джон Лукач: «...эти пиджаки импортного покроя не налезли на коренастые фигуры их временных владельцев. Швы скоро разошлись, одежда долго не носилась»²³.

Реализации сделанного цивилизационного выбора серьёзно помешал и национализм, которым «заболели» правящие элиты центрально-восточноевропейских стран, не понимая, что в XX в. это явление по своей, так сказать, «генетической» сути несовместимо с настоящей демократией. В итоге, эти, по определению Черчилля, «высоконационалистические государства»²⁴, как и раньше, оставались фактически «периферийными» странами Европы.

Однако, это не значит, что первая попытка цивилизационной модернизации ничего не дала его народам. Пусть и временное пребывание в условиях демократической системы ускорило формирование принципов современного гражданского общества (например, создание и активная деятельность разнообразных общественных организаций), а установленные консервативными силами авторитарные диктатуры не смогли полностью возобновить традиционное общество и решить назревшие проблемы. Более того, некоторые из них втянули свои страны во Вторую мировую войну на стороне стран фашистского блока, поставив, таким образом, свои государства на грань национальной катастрофы.

Понятно, что рано или поздно должно было произойти возвращение к «догоняющей модели развития», к проведению модернизации, а, следовательно, и к новой попытке цивилизационного выбора. Это время пришло после завершения Второй мировой войны, когда перед всеми странами этого региона опять возникла необходимость определить своё будущее и сделать новый исторический выбор своей судьбы.

²³ Д. Лукач, *Конец двадцатого века и конец эпохи модерна* [The End of the Twentieth Century and the End of the Modern Age], Санкт-Петербург, 2003, с. 135.

²⁴ У. Черчилль, *указ соч.*, с. 508.

THE USSR DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD: POLITICAL-DIPLOMATIC ASPECTS

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Rezumat: În politica externă, în perioada interbelică, URSS s-a caracterizat printr-un realism care a utilizat forțele comunismului internațional în funcție de interesele primordiale ale stalinismului. În această perioadă, URSS a fost a treia putere industrială a lumii, după SUA și Germania. Instalarea național-socialismului în Germania a provocat o profundă schimbare politică atât din partea lui Stalin cât și din partea democrațiilor occidentale. Acestea au căutat să se apere de o nouă expansiune germană și s-au arătat brusc mult mai prevenitoare față de Moscova. URSS a fost admisă la Societatea Națiunilor și a semnat pacte de asistență mutuală cu Franța și Cehoslovacia. SUA au decis în fine să recunoască guvernul sovietic. La 23 august 1939, spre stupefacția întregii lumi, a fost semnat la Kremlin Pactul de neagresiune germano-sovietic, la care a fost atașat un protocol secret prevăzând împărțirea Poloniei între Germania și URSS.

Résumé: Dans la politique extérieure, dans la période de l'entre deux guerres, l'URSS s'est caractérisée par un réalisme qui a utilisé les forces du communisme international en fonction des intérêts primordiaux du stalinisme. En cette période-ci, l'URSS a été le troisième pouvoir industriel du monde, après les Etats-Unis de l'Amérique et l'Allemagne. L'installation du national-socialisme en Allemagne a provoqué un profond changement politique de la part de Staline, mais aussi de la part des démocraties occidentales. Celles-ci ont cherché se défendre d'une nouvelle expansion allemande et se sont montrées beaucoup plus préventives envers Moscou. L'URSS a été admise dans la Société de Nations et a signé des pactes d'assistance mutuelle avec la France et la Tchécoslovaquie. Les Etats-Unis de l'Amérique ont finalement décidé à reconnaître le gouvernement soviétique. Le 23 août 1939, vers la stupéfaction du monde tout entier, on a signé à Kremlin, le Pacte de non-agression allemand soviétique, auquel on a attaché un protocole secret qui prévoyait la division de la Pologne entre l'Allemagne et l'URSS.

Abstract: The foreign policy of the USSR in the interwar period was characterized by a realism that used the forces of the international Communism in accordance with the primordial interests of Stalinism. During this period, the USSR was the third industrial power in the world after USA and Germany. The installation of the National-Socialism in Germany caused a profound political change on the part of Stalin and also the Western democracies. These sought to defend themselves against a new German expansion and were suddenly much more forthcoming towards Moscow. The USSR was admitted to the League of Nations and signed mutual assistance pacts with France and Czechoslovakia. U.S. finally decided to

recognize the Soviet government. On August 23rd, 1939, to the amazement of the whole world, the German-Soviet non-aggression pact was signed in the (Moscow) Kremlin, pact which had a secret protocol attached, that provided for the division of Poland between Germany and the USSR.

Keywords: USSR, League of Nations, Europe, diplomacy, Germany, geopolitics

In 1921, Russia's situation seemed desperate: exhausted by war, with an economy on the brink of collapse, with an agricultural production representing 50% of that of 1913, while the industrial production collapsed in its turn. Five million people were sick with typhus, and several hundreds of thousands chronically suffering of hunger¹.

On February 6th, 1921 the Soviet Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, Cicerin, sent a confidential letter to the representatives of Soviet Russia in the United Kingdom, Germany and Czechoslovakia, in which the Soviet's support toward Germany was pointed out, including the Russians' support for the expansion of its Eastern border. The Treaty of Rapallo (April 16th, 1922) is significant in this respect².

On May 3rd, 1922 the signing of the secret Convention between the intelligence staffs of Germany and Soviet Russia took place in Berlin, a first essential step towards breaking the European isolation for both Germany defeated in World War I and the new Soviet state. This cooperation is not based on an identity of views or a real friendship, but on the identification of common interests³. The Locarno reconciliation (1925) with the Western states and the entry of Germany into the League of Nations (1926) determined Chancellor Gustav Stresemann to harmonize the German demands with the Soviet objectives. Germany could in no way be forced to participate in any military action against the USSR⁴.

The Weimar Republic will maintain relations with the USSR through the Treaty of Berlin, signed on April 24th, 1926, but the relative position of the two countries had already begun to change. The Locarno moment showed that Germany could not rely solely on Soviet support. On 25 January 1929, Germany and the USSR signed a Convention of Conciliation, but ultimately, the consequences of the

¹ Andre' Fontaine, *Istoria războiului rece*, vol.I, București, Ed.Militară, 1992, p.62. (The original edition: *Histoire de la guerre froide. I. De la revolution d'Octobre a la guerre de Corée*. 1917-1950, Paris, Seuil); Walter Consuelo Langsam, *The World since 1914*, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1943, p.568; Evan Mawdsley, *The Russian Civil War*, Edinburgh, Birlinn Limited, 2008.

² J. A. S. Grenville, *The Major International Treaties. 1914-1973. A History and Guide with texts*, New York, Natl Book, 1975, p.11.

³ *Ibidem*.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

economic crisis of the same year led to the end of the cooperation between the Germans and the Russians⁵.

In 1923, the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs was established, joint body of all Soviet republics. During 1924, a number of countries have recognized the political existence of Soviet Russia: the United Kingdom, Italy, Norway, Austria, Greece, Sweden, China, Denmark, Albania, Hungary⁶. In fact, the Soviets could not or did not want to recognize the sovereignty of other states. It seemed anachronistic to admit that a state must respect the sovereignty of other states. Initially, the Soviet diplomacy supported international relations at government level only, while at propaganda level, all possible means were not only permitted but encouraged. The Comintern communications addressed directly to the proletarian "brothers" "exploited" by the governments of capitalist countries were numerous.

When the states protested against these interferences of a political outsider, the Soviet officials resorted to sophisms, saying that the Bolshevik party was actually a private organization, for which the government from Moscow could not assume any responsibility. The subterfuge offered some justification to those states which, for some obscure reasons, thought it adequate to still maintain diplomatic relations with the USSR.

In 1926, many Western observers believed that the USSR was an artificial creation, which will not last more than five years, while I. V. Stalin himself stated (in 1931) that if the Soviets would not manage to reduce during a decade the huge technological gap that separated them from the West, the Soviets' motherland would collapse⁷.

Through a remarkable effort, the USSR had orchestrated (since 1933), an ample action of interference in European politics, which materialized in the occupation of the permanent seat in the League of Nations Council, left vacant by the withdrawal of Nazi Germany, in Geneva (1934). The Secret Council of the League had unanimously accepted USSR and there were only three abstentions. Switzerland, Poland and Japan protested, but without any effect. In 1934, Maxim Litvinov imposed the League of Nations the Soviet perspective on the definition of aggression. Proud of his country, Maxim Litvinov likened it to the League of Nations itself, considering the diversity of nationalities that made it up.⁸ Louis Barthou was optimistic too, and believed that the USSR would ultimately be

⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶ Michel Heller, Aleksandr Nekrich, *L'Utopie au pouvoir. Histoire de l'URSS de 1917 à nos jours*, Calman-Levy, Paris, 1985, p.647.

⁷ Andre' Fontaine, op.cit, p.68.

⁸ Genevieve Tabouis, *20 de ani de tensiune diplomatică*, București, Ed.Politică, 1965, p.208 (The original edition: *Vingt ans de "suspense" diplomatique*, Paris, A.Michel, 1958)

involved into a fruitful cooperation with the Western states. The failure to achieve an Eastern Locarno led the Soviets to sign in 1935 a treaty of mutual assistance with France⁹. Its provisions stipulated (among others) that the USSR was to observe the neutrality of Poland and the Baltic countries. The treaty entered into force on March 27th, 1936. On that occasion, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of France, Pierre Laval, seemed fascinated with I. V. Stalin's personality¹⁰.

The practical value of this diplomatic instrument was not appreciated in either France or the USSR. The Soviets wanted the Franco-Russian alliance to be independent of the League of Nations and to operate without having to be brought in advance before the Council of the League of Nations. France wanted the treaty to be registered with the League of Nations, so that it will not be able to provide a pretext for any aggression against Germany. According to the German diplomatic circles, the German-Soviet treaty was definitely null and void¹¹.

The USSR signed a mutual assistance treaty with Czechoslovakia (1935), but it could not be operational unless the French army would deploy soldiers in support of the Czechs¹². Moreover, in September 1938, in Munich, Hitler will sacrifice Czechoslovakia, without the USSR having any reaction. On the other hand, the establishment of diplomatic relations with the U.S.A., Spain, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Poland, Luxembourg and Colombia (between 1933-1939) - represents an undeniable success of the Soviet diplomacy¹³.

With Maxim Litvinov's dismissal (May 3rd, 1939), the USSR foreign policy will experience an obvious change of registry. For some time there were doubts about the idea of collective security, the idea that stood at the base of Litvinov's conception. However, in fact, Litvinov had only translated into reality the policy established and approved by the Party and the Soviet government, and he as a person was important only because he had applied this policy with enthusiasm, being sincerely convinced of its success. On the other hand, not even he was completely satisfied with the immediate, practical results of this type of policy. Moscow wanted to impose the principle of indivisibility of peace, propagated through the concept of collective security-in fact a universal political ideal, difficult to reach, because of the national and international interest. Indirectly, the annihilation of the specific national spirit of each state was the goal. It is not accidental that most countries in South America later interrupted diplomatic relations with the USSR, as it appeared that the Soviet plenipotentiaries were

⁹ Michel Heller, Aleksandr Nekrich, op.cit, p.650.

¹⁰ J.A.S.Grenville, op.cit, p.132.

¹¹ Genevieve Tabouis, op.cit, p.253.

¹² *Ibidem*.

¹³ Michel Heller, Aleksandr Nekrich, op.cit, pp.649-651.

actually agents of the GPU, and the legations and embassies were converted into ammunition storages, torture chambers and shelters for agitators¹⁴.

Despite these reactions, it was impossible to infinitely ignore the USSR - genuine geographical subcontinent, owner of a remarkable economic potential. On March 16th, 1921 the friendship treaty between Soviet Russia and Turkey was concluded, document through which the Soviets recognized the northeastern border of the Turkish state¹⁵. The Western observers believed that the Soviet state had obtained a clear diplomatic success. The first President of the Republic of Turkey, Kemal Ataturk, was sympathetic towards the newly established regime in Moscow. In 1921, the Soviets concluded similar treaties with Iran and Afghanistan, with the purpose of weakening the British influence in India. They will be reconfirmed by the signing of a new treaty of nonaggression and neutrality with Turkey (1925) and by the conclusion of similar treaties with Afghanistan (1926) and Iran (1927)¹⁶.

In 1921 another diplomatic success of the Soviets was recorded - the signing of a commercial treaty with Britain. Moscow believed that (through this document) it attained two essential objectives: the strengthening and expansion of communist political power and the weakening of the so-called capitalist opposition, by creating a breach in the seemingly inexpugnable sanitary cordon. Soviet Russia was thus recognized de facto by the largest capitalist power of the world at that time, Great Britain, pragmatism having played this way a decisive role¹⁷.

Through the Treaty of Riga, from March 18th, 1921, the Soviet-Polish borders were established up to 1939. The same year, the Soviets recognized the independence of the three Baltic republics and Finland (former Grand Duchy of Tsarist Russia)¹⁸.

Between 1926 and 1937, the USSR concluded several treaties of nonaggression, the most important of these being that with Poland (1932). Similar treaties were concluded also in 1932, with France, Finland, Latvia and Estonia¹⁹. However Stalin said that a treaty with Poland would not involve any recognition or

¹⁴ Ștefan Ionescu, *De la Petru cel Mare la Stalin. Istoria unei Revoluții*, București, Ed. Cugetarea, D. Georgescu-Delafras, București, 1941, pp. 240-244.

¹⁵ J. A. S. Grenville, op.cit, p.77; Erik J. Zucher, *Turkey A Modern History*, London-New York, I. B. Tauris, 2009, p. 153.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, pp.130-131.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p.129.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p.77; Robert Edwards, *White Death. Russia's War on Finland 1939-1940*, London, Phoenix, 2007, p.17.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p.132.

warranty on the part of the Soviets concerning the Polish borders or the Treaty of Versailles²⁰.

The USSR concluded a convention with Japan in 1925, while since 1930 it had been offering effective support to China, with which it would sign a nonaggression treaty in 1937²¹. Thus, the USSR played both ends against the middle, even if we think to the fact that in 1935 a similar treaty was concluded with Manchukuo State - the Chinese province of Manchuria, de facto occupied by Japan²².

The treaties concluded by the USSR during this period stood under the sign of pragmatism, aiming especially at reaching an agreement with the West. However, the idea of triggering a world revolution, with the help of the Comintern was not abandoned either. It was actually a well-orchestrated duplicity, a continuation of the old imperial Russian diplomacy, except that now, the new Soviet regime had to win mainly time to crystallize and strengthen itself within its own borders.

The annexation intentions were hidden behind the official formulas, the pacifism and the availability to dialogue of the USSR, which were mere smoke curtains. As an actor of great talent, the USSR created the impression of openness towards the West, when in fact, the theme of peaceful coexistence of the two ideological systems amounted to only a truce.

The Nazis' coming to power in Germany will change the foreign policy of the USSR, thus the Eighth Congress of the Comintern (1935), ratified the popular front policy, which would be applied (since 1936), in France and later in Spain. On the other hand, the hostility of the conservative Western societies towards the Soviets did not cease, although, initially, some saw in Stalin's homeland, an interesting social experiment, with a formidable military potential²³.

Others were more skeptical and felt that the executions ordered by Stalin among the elite of the Red Army would have drastically reduced its shock force²⁴.

In 1939, the reserves that the USSR could mobilize were 16 million people, given the fact that the military service lasted between four and five years, period during which soldiers were entitled to only a single furlough. Their food rations consisted mainly of soup and black bread, receiving also a monthly pay of 50 rubles, while a general's pay was closer to 7,000 rubles per month. The most important Soviet weapons of the interwar period were the MiG-15 airplane (exceeding 1000

²⁰ *Ibidem*; Jerzy Lukowski and Hubert Zawadzki, *A Concise History of Poland*, Cambridge University Press, 2010, p.247.

²¹ *Ibidem*, p.133.

²² *Ibidem*; K.Haushoffer, *Le Japon et les Japonais. Geopolitique du Japon*, Paris, Payot, 1937, p.217.

²³ Georges Bonnet, *Vingt ans de vie politique. 1918-1938. De Clemenceau au Daladier*, Paris, Fayard, 1969, p.147; Stephen Koch, *Double lives: spies and writers in secret Soviet war of ideas against the West*, University of Michigan, Free Press, 1994.

²⁴ R.Girault, M.Ferro, *De la Russie a l'URSS, L'histoire de la Russie de 1850 a nos jours*, Paris, Nathan, 1989, pp.176-177.

kilometers per hour, and whose engine was the result of modifying the British Rolls-Royce Nave engine) as well as the T-41 light tank, which weighed 25 tons and was equipped with a 76 mm cannon²⁵.

When he became People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the USSR (May 14th, 1939), Vyacheslav Molotov claimed that the USSR military potential was clearly superior to that of 1921 and consequently, the Soviet state had to assume a more important international role²⁶.

In terms of population, the USSR had in early 1939, 170,467,200 inhabitants, out of which the Russian ethnics represented 47.5%²⁷.

In 1937, 55% of the USSR population was made up of farmers working in kolkhozy and sovkhozy, while the workers and clerks represented 35%²⁸.

In 1939, the Soviet society was one of a rather conservative type, cultivating an undeniably Russian nationalism. Peter the Great, Alexander Nevsky and Ivan the Terrible became outstanding mythological figures. Stalin's rejection of modern music and the inclusion of significant proportions of Russian music in the repertoires of opera houses and theaters can be considered an aspect of this nationalist reorientation²⁹.

George Kennan observed that since 1936, the Soviet Union had engaged in a massive rearming program, within which the idea of collectivization and the various five-year plans were the key elements. The suspicion against the capitalist world was still the feeling that prevailed in the Soviet society. Supporting peace, until its own military force would be strong enough, represented (in Kennan's opinion) another feature of the Soviet foreign policy. Kennan believed that through its history and specificity, the USSR could not be governed in the modern and European sense³⁰.

In October 1938, the Soviet vice-minister of foreign affairs, Potemkin, told the French ambassador Coulondre that the Westerners, through what they agreed in Munich on September 29th, 1938, had actually condemned the USSR to the tendency of participating in a new division of Poland³¹.

²⁵ Robert Pinoteau, *La Russie d'hier et d'aujourd'hui*, Paris, Les Iles d'Or, 1953, pp.232-240.

²⁶ *Ibidem*.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p.35 și urm.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p.39.

²⁹ A. Bergson, *The Structure of Soviet Wages. A Study in Socialist Economics*, Harvard University Press, 1944, p.81.

³⁰ George F.Kennan, *Memoirs. 1925-1950*, Boston, Little Brown and Company, 1967, pp.70-71.

³¹ *Ibidem*.

After the Munich Agreement, the Soviet government resumed its actions to releasing a simple statement which was a formal protest against the German annexation³².

Without getting their hopes high, the Soviets generally reasoned this way: England and France fear Germany, therefore, they are ready to give it a free hand in Eastern Europe, the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia being significant. In the view of the Soviet diplomacy, the Westerners would have liked the worsening of the Soviet-German relations, in order to profit of the mutual erosion of both powers, detail reminded by Stalin from the rostrum of the XVIII Congress of the CPSU, on March 10th, 1939.

Under these circumstances, the USSR had to avoid any conflict with Hitler, hoping to close a deal with Berlin and the Nazis concerning the areas of influence in Eastern Europe, despite the repeated anticommunist statements of the latter. Given the existing international situation in March 1939, Stalin established CPSU's tasks concerning foreign policy: continuing the policy of peace and strengthening the economic relations with all countries; avoiding the involvement of the USSR in war conflicts, determined by the instigators; increasing the combat capacity of the Red Army and Red Fleet; amplifying internationalist ties of friendship with the workers of all countries whose interest is to maintain peace and friendship between peoples³³.

Stalin's observations suggested that at world level, the USSR would have to maintain an almost total isolation, but his statements must also be decrypted in the sense of not breaking completely the relations with France and Britain. On the other hand, it was clear that Stalin and Molotov had no confidence in the UK and France and were not enthusiastic about the idea of an alliance with these states. Even if such an alliance would be concluded, the USSR would not be sustained more than Poland was, when the English assurance had been put to test. Without strong military commitments on the part of France, Great Britain and Poland, the offered alliance presented no interest to the Soviet leaders. It is clear that, (starting) from April or May 1939, Stalin thought of a last-minute deal with Hitler, if such commitments could not be obtained. Finally, preferring the proposals (of course, much more pragmatic and precise) of Nazi Germany, the USSR would choose Hitler, who wanted war.

Stalin considered Hitler a pragmatic and therefore, the foreign policy of the Soviet Union would become more pragmatic in its turn. Thus, the Soviet diplomacy, based on ideological principles, would ignore the dominant points of the party dogma, subordinating all to the pursued goal. The closeness to Nazi Germany, materialized in the signing of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact (August 23rd, 1939) would be later

³² Jean Elleinstein, *Staline*, Paris, Fayard, 1984, p.246; Walter Consuelo Langsam, op.cit, p.597.

³³ Isaac Deutscher, *Staline*, Paris, Gallimard, 1953, pp.514-517.

identified by the Soviet leaders as a natural gesture, which represented only the wish of the USSR to obstinately follow its own interests³⁴.

Thus, it was shattered an image, which even some of the Westerners had considered at some point true: that of the Soviet state which articulated its foreign policy oriented by the moral standard of principles. The foreign diplomats accredited in the USSR were anxious about what they called Russia's amazing power of expansion. There was a collective frenzy, an increasing militaristic atmosphere, the rediscovery of a Slavic patriotism, which in 1917 appeared buried for good under the heap of Bolshevik slogans. The concern of the state regarding the army and the weapons factories seemed greater than ever. The editorial, cinematographic and theatrical productions brought forth the heroic figures of the Russian history, the youth was inoculated a kind of national pride that evoked for the historians the Tsars' period, when the name "Mother Russia" was equivalent with the image of the Virgin Mary. Restless times seemed to lie ahead, and the USSR did not want to miss what the leaders called the great encounter with history.

In 1940 the USSR had the largest machine-building industry in Europe. Within 15 years, 9,000 new industrial units were built. Only during a single year (1940) the Soviets produced 18.3 million tons of steel, 31 million tons of oil and 166 million tons of coal³⁵.

It is difficult to understand the psychological motivations that determined some of the Westerners to see in the USSR the alternative to the democracies considered anachronistic. The rejections, prejudices, mistrust will persist, but next to the desire to decipher, to know and better understand the inner springs of the giant mechanism called the USSR. But, the actual details of these springs would be proven almost impossible to know during the interwar period. Ability and obscurity would be the essential advantages of the great Eastern Empire, enhanced also by an imaginative propaganda. Finally, it should be noted that Communist Russia had two leaders, both with a strong personality: Lenin and Stalin. Both of them proved cruelty but also an unquestionable practical intelligence. Lenin did not get to act for too long, as he died in 1924. Stalin would become the prototype of the Asian despot, who would ingeniously know how to use the advantages of modernity. The USSR could have been perceived not only as a prison of peoples, but also as a mythical territory of the lovers of equal rights. The Soviet secret services painted,

³⁴ Henry Kissinger, *Diplomația*, București, Ed. All, 1998, p.320. (The original edition: *Diplomacy*, New York et al. Simon&Schuster, 1994)

³⁵ Alexander Werth, *Un corespondent englez pe frontal de est*, București, Ed. Politică, 1970, p.80; Adam B. Ulam, *A History of Soviet Russia*, New York, Praeger Publishers, 1976, pp.142-154.

up to a point, a false image, in which the tones of light, brotherhood, harmony and peace seemed real.

The Spanish Civil War, the annexations in Poland, Finland and Romania as well as the annexation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania will obviously outline the true face of the USSR. And yet, Nazi Germany represented the main danger in Europe around 1939. The sinister verbosity of Hitler in *Mein Kampf*, his bellicose paranoia, seemed much more frightening than the question marks about the real attitude of the leaders in the Kremlin. Those who weighed in the balance of evil the National-Socialism and the Communism decided then that the National -Socialism was a far greater danger. In fact, both "-isms" were equally anti-human.

THE KNOTTED RAILS – ECONOMIC SITUATION AND GEOPOLITICAL DETERMINANTS OF MOLDOVAN RAILWAYS

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Rezumat: *Basarabia nu a fost de-a lungul timpul decât o provincie periferică a Rusiei țariste, a României și, în ultimul rând, a Uniunii Sovietice, deci este vorba de o provincie rurală neglijată și subdezvoltată. Pactul Ribbentrop-Molotov și crearea Republicii Sovietice Socialiste a Moldovei a cauzat dezintegrarea Basarabiei ca și provincie istorică. Prin urmare, aceasta a fost izolată de România și mai multe drumuri au fost închise pe frontiera republicană sovietică. De-a lungul existenței Moldovei ca parte a URSS, aceasta nu a reprezentat o problemă serioasă. Atunci când Uniunea Sovietică a dispărut și republicile și-au anunțat independența, frontiera republicană a devenit frontieră de stat. Acest lucru a dus la dezintegrarea totală a sistemului de transport și în special, a celui feroviar. În plus, secesiunea Transnistriei a condus la blocajul sistemului feroviar moldovenesc pe teritoriul său și la pierderea controlului asupra infrastructurii, care a cauzat probleme serioase pe piața externă a Moldovei. Chestiunea căilor ferate a devenit unul dintre cele mai importante subiecte a negocierilor între Chișinău și Tiraspol. În plus, sistemul feroviar moldovenesc este subdezvoltat, iar rețeaua sa nu poate asigura securitatea și dezvoltarea statului. Moldova este o țară prea săracă și prea slăbită pentru a depăși aceste probleme. Pe de altă parte, guvernul moldovenesc a încercat să amelioreze condițiile de transport feroviar și să asigure independența economică.*

Abstract: *Basarabia during the history was nothing more than periphery of Tsar Russia, Romania and finally Soviet Union, so was rather neglected and undeveloped rural province. The Ribbentrop-Molotov pact and creation of Moldovan SSR caused disintegration of Basarabia as a historical land. In the result it was isolated from Romania and many transport routes were cut by Soviet republican border. As long as Moldova existed as a part of USSR, that was not a serious problem, but when Soviet Union collapsed and republics announced its independence, republican border changed into state border. All that caused that all Moldovan transport system and especially railways were disintegrated. In addition, factual secession of Transnistria brought blockade of Moldovan railway transport on its territory and lost control over all infrastructure and rolling stock, what caused serious problems to Moldovan foreign trade. The problem of railways appeared to be one of the most important subject of negotiations between Chișinău and Tiraspol. In addition Moldovan railways are underdeveloped and its network cannot ensure full security and development of state. Moldova is too poor and too weak country to overcome these problems. On the other hand, Moldovan government made great work to improve condition of railway transport and ensure economic independence.*

Résumé: *La Bessarabie n'a pas été, le long du temps, qu'une province périphérique de la Russie tsariste, de la Roumanie, et finalement de l'Union Soviétique, donc il s'est agi d'une province rurale négligée et pas développée. Le pacte Ribbentrop - Molotov et la création de la République Soviétique Socialiste de la Moldavie a causé la désintégration de la Bessarabie en tant que province historique. En conséquence, celle-ci a été isolée par la Roumanie et plusieurs chemins ont été clos sur la frontière républicaine soviétique. Le long de l'existence de la Moldavie comme part de l'URSS, cela n'a pas représenté un problème sérieux; lorsque l'Union Soviétique est disparue et les républiques ont annoncé leur indépendance, la frontière républicaine est devenue frontière d'Etat. Cela a causé la désintégration totale du système de transport et spécialement, de celui ferroviaire. De plus, la sécession de la Transnistrie a amené le blocage du système ferroviaire moldave sur son territoire et la perte du contrôle sur l'infrastructure, qui a causé des problèmes sérieux sur le marché extérieur de la Moldavie. Le problème des chemins ferroviaires est devenu un des plus importants sujets des négociations entre Chişinău et Tiraspol. De plus, le système ferroviaire moldave est sous-développé et son réseau ne peut pas assurer la sécurité et l'essor de l'Etat. La Moldavie est un pays trop pauvre et trop affaibli pour dépasser ces problèmes. De l'autre partie, le gouvernement moldave a essayé d'améliorer les conditions du transport ferroviaire et à assurer l'indépendance économique.*

Keywords: *Republic of Moldova, CFM, railway, Basarabia, Transnistria*

Introduction

The historical events of XX century - Soviet annexation in 1940, war fights 1941-1945, collapse of Soviet Union 1990-1991 and war in Transnistria 1992, caused that Basarabia was disintegrated and destroyed as a consistent political, social and economical historical land. That is why the Republic of Moldova, established on basarabian remains. Since its independence has been struggled against many difficulties nearly in the all aspects of state and social life.

The well developed and managed transport is absolutely needed to ensure security and economic development of state. But one of the greatest problem with normal function of Moldova is disintegrated and ineffectual transport network This can be seen especially under the analyse of Moldovan railway condition.

1. The short history of transport in Basarabia

During the Russian rules Basarabia was very underdeveloped peripheral province, even comparing it with Tsar Russia¹. The condition of road and rail infrastructure was catastrophic: before the First World War in Basarabia were just 129 km of beaten tracks, were no road bridge over the Prut to Romania, the rail lines did not assure connections with Romania, but also between individual parts of the

¹ The first railway line in Bessarabia - Odessa-Rozdilna-Kuchurgan-Tiraspol-Bender/Tighina-Chişinău was completed in 1871 (in 1875 to Ungheni). On the other hand, in Romanian Old Kingdom first line Bucureşti-Giurgiu was built just two years earlier.

province. Paradoxically this situation was improved a little thanks to the first world war, when (to supply the Romanian front) 416 km of new railways were completed² and Bender (known in Romanian as Tighina) Railway Directorate disposed nearly the same number of locomotives (235) and technical equipment as Odessa or Kiev³.

In 1918 Basarabia was annexed by the Kingdom of Romania. Just after the war, Romanian implemented an ambitious project of construction of 10 bridges over the Prut and about 1900 km of the beaten roads⁴. During the years of 1921-1923 railway gauge 1524 mm (old Russian) was convert into 1435 mm. Under Romanian rules, the new connections were constructed: from Romovca (today Besarabeasca) to Fălciu and from Revaca to Căinari⁵. Unfortunately Basarabia was the part of Romania just till 1940 and was not fully integrated with the rest of state. In addition, the Second World War - rapid Romanian evacuation and Soviet plunder in 1940, fights in 1941 and 1944 caused the great destruction of infrastructure and vehicles⁶.

In June 1940 Basarabia and northern Bucovina were annexed by Soviet Union. Firstly basarabian lands were united with lying on the left bank of the Dniester Moldovan ASSR (established by Soviets in 1924, as a part of Ukrainian SSR) and secondly was transformed into Moldovan SSR - new Soviet federal republic. Parts of Basarabia - in south - Bugeac and in north - areas around Khotin (Хотин/Хотин), but also northern Bucovina and eastern parts of former Moldovan ASRR were incorporated into Ukrainian SSR. To Soviet Moldova a great problem was, that was cut off from danubian and Black Sea ports: Bilhorod-Dnistrovskiy (Cetatea Albă/Білгород-Дністровський) and Kilia (Chilia/Кілія), Reni (Рені), Ismail (Ізмаїл), but also from Galați and Brăila, which stayed in Romania. So economy of Soviet Moldova depended on harbours of Ukrainian SSR, but Chișinău had no opportunity to manage them.

What is more, during Soviet times, the borders between Soviet republics were established without any care about the integrity of transport network inside individual entities. It caused, that sections of roads or railways between localizations situated inside one republic, were crossing republican borders several times. As far as the Soviet Union existed, that was not a serious problem, but, when the USSR collapsed, communication network of Moldova was broken-up. What is

² Among the others: lines Romanovca (today Besarabeasca)-Akerman (Cetatea Alba), Romanovca-Prut, Bălți-Ungheni, Reni-Prut. Н.И. Бондарь, *Историческая справка о железной дороге Молдовы* [The historical note about Moldovan railways], www.railway.md.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Ch. U. Clark, *Bessarabia*, New York 1927, (electronic version) www.depts.washington.edu.

⁵ This line was constructed because of strategic – to round infiltrated by Soviets junction station Bender/Tighina, and of economic reasons – to short travel between București and Chișinău and reduce its cost. D. Lazur, *Tunelul morții* [Tunnel of death], „Jurnal de Chișinău” 22 X 2005 – the typescript given by author by e-mail.

⁶ In the time of war, in 1941-1943 in Basarabia was built railway line Arciz-Ismail. But today it is on the territory of Ukraine, not Moldova.

more, the secession of Transnistria⁷ caused, that Chişinău lost control over all transport network situated there⁸.

The collapse of USSR and declarations of independence by the Soviet republics, caused a transformation of republican border into state border between Moldova and Ukraine. The Moldovan economy was definitely cut off from Ukrainian harbours at the Black Sea coast and banks of the Danube. In the several places transport routes were broken by the border. In fact Ukraine had just one serious problem - 7,7 km long section of Odessa-Ismail main road near Palanca village was situated on Moldovan territory. But situation of Moldova was more problematic: some of Moldovan railway infrastructure were found on Ukraine. In addition, sections of Moldovan rail lines in the southern and northern ends of state were cut by Ukrainian border and disintegrated. The same happened with many local roads.

Since the independence, Moldova has struggled with the same problem as Basarabia had when it was incorporated to Romania in 1918. First of all, many workers and specialists (mostly Ukrainians and Russians), who were employed in transport sector, emigrated after 1991. As well, many of those, who stayed, speaks Russian and do not know fluently or even do not know at all Romanian language. In addition, especially in Bălţi and in Găgăuzia, inscriptions inside railway and bus stations are only in Russian, because government can not or does not want to implement the law about state language guarantying presence of Romanian (officially named Moldovan) in the public life.

The following problem is still Soviet mentality and negligence. The corruption practices are very popular in this sector, as well as in the other fields of life. As the result, great part of so small funds are stolen by members of political-business establishment.

2. The interstate connections

States of the former USSR are the main trade partners of Moldova. Also many Moldovans have family relationships or work in Russia or Ukraine. That is why the efficient communication from Moldova to Ukraine is so important. On the other hand, the number of trans border connections in general is quite high⁹, but many of them

⁷ The self-proclaimed Transnistrian Moldovan Republic - Приднестровская Молдавская Республика procleimed own independence (internationally not recognized) in 1991. Transnistria controls areas on the left bank of the Dniester (without the small area near city Dubăsari city), but also situated on the right bank Bender/Tighina and four villages (the biggest one is Chiţcani) in the south from it. The capital of rebellious land is Tiraspol.

⁸ The specific symbol of Transnistrian conflict and its consequence for transport and economy of both sites of conflict is closed cable way over the Dniester, which connects the limestone quarry in Moldovan Rezina and the cement mill in Transnistrian Rîbniţa

⁹ The border crossing points between Moldova and Ukraine in total are 31 (not counting points functioning as Transnistrian in fact). Among them 19 have an international status (6 railway, 12 car, 1 ferry), 5 interstate (4 car, 1 ferry) and 7 local (5 car and 2 ferry). *Lista punctelor de trecere peste frontiera de stat moldo-ucraineana cu excepția segmentului*

run via areas controlled by Transnistria, so using them is difficult and can be blocked effectively in every moment¹⁰.

The situation on the other sectors of border was improved, but just a little by fact, that Ukraine and Moldova in 1997 signed a treaty which allows occupants of a border zone to cross the border in a simplified regime.

The Republic of Moldova is separated from Romania by the Prut river. In 1944 there were 22 bridges connecting Basarabia and Romanian Moldova. All of them were destroyed during the last war, except railway bridges Ungheni-Holboca (constructed in 1876-1877 by Gustav Eiffel¹¹) and Cantemir-Fălciu. In 1949 Galați-Giurgiulești was reconstructed, in 1956 Leușeni-Albița, in 1963 Cahul-Oancea, in 1966 Sculeni-Sculeni and in 1978 was opened the road on the dam in Costești-Stânca¹². Since the declaration of independence of Moldova in 1991 just one bridge has been rebuilt. In February 2010, after many perturbations, in the upper run of the Prut, between Lipcani in Moldova and Rădăuți Prut in Romania, the bridge was opened (the cost of construction was 11 mln EUR)¹³. In 2004 was also announced the

central (Transnistrean) al frontierei de stat [The list of border crossing points on Moldovan-Ukrainian border (except Transnistrian section)], www.border.gov.md.

¹⁰ There are 6 car and 3 railway border crossing points. *Lista punctelor de trecerea peste frontiera de stat moldo-române [The list of border crossing points on Moldovan-Romanian border],* www.border.gov.md.

¹¹ In May 2012, to celebrate 135 years of bridge construction, Ungheni city council gave it name of Gustav Eiffel. M. Ursu, *Podul feroviar peste râul Prut va purta numele lui Gustave Eiffel [Railway bridge over the Prut will be given Gustav Eiffel name],* "Adevarul" 6 VI 2012, www.adevarul.ro.

¹² V. Cubreacov, *Podul Leova-Bumbăta. Încremenirea în Project [Leova-Bumbăta bridge. The look at this project],* "Flux" 4 IX 2009 www.flux.md.

¹³ The bridge with accesses and the infrastructure of border crossing point on Moldovan side were finished in the middle of 2007. However till the beginning of 2010 it had being not put into operation because of unfinished works on the Romanian side. Chișinău tried to press on București to finalize of this investment, but it did affect nothing more than verbal promises. For sure that was a reaction on anti-Romanian policy of communists, who in that time were ruling Moldova. After their withdraw from power and creation of the new government of the Alliance for European Integration, in January 2010 during the telephone conversation between the president of Romania Traian Băsescu and the new prime minister of Moldova Vlad Filat was agreed, that the bridge and the border crossing point would be prepared to open in 10 days. The open ceremony took place on 15th February 2010. During the first week of functioning 2805 people crossed new point - 2635 were Romanians, 163 Moldovans and 8 foreigners. I. Strelciuc, *Filat scoate lumea la proteste împotriva autorităților române? [Filat brings people on protest against Romanian authorities?],* "Cotidian Național" 3 II 2009 www.flux.md; *Premier calls upon Romanian authorities to speed up Lipcani-Radauti station opening,* "Infotag" 29 I 2009 www.azi.md; *Chisinau officials decline their responsibility in delaying opening Lipcani - Radauti customs office,* "Info-Prim Neo" 28 I 2009 www.azi.md; *Deschiderea oficială a podului Rădăuți-Lipcani va avea loc la 15 februarie [Official opening of Rădăuți-Lipcani bridge will take place on 15th February],* "Info-Prim Neo" 12 II 2010 www.azi.md; *Lipcani-*

reconstruction of Leova-Bumbăta bridge, but it has not been started¹⁴. In 2011 once again this investment was declared and in addition also second bridge near Nisporeni¹⁵. Especially problematic is the lack of bridge joining Iași directly with Ungheni¹⁶ and lack of motorway or any other modern way between both capitals of Moldova. What is more, there is no single kilometer of motorway in Moldova and in Romania motorways are built very slow. That means, that construction of the motorway Chișinău-Iași, especially because of the current world crisis, in the nearest future is absolutely impossible. So far Romanian authorities just are planning to renovate four road bridges over the Prut¹⁷.

In addition, a very important problem to communicate between two states is that in Romania is used the European gauge (1435 mm), meanwhile in Moldova, like in whole territory of the former USSR, the Russian gauge (1520 mm). The only one trans-border line permanently operating the passenger traffic is Iași-Ungheni, equipped with mixed 1520/1435 mm gauge. But Russian tracks run just to Iași Socola marshalling yard station, so they does not have any meaning to passenger traffic. Local trains Iași-Ungheni are run by CFR (Romanian Railways) by trains with European gauge. But the long distance train 401/402 Chișinău-București-Chișinău "Prietenia" (Friendship), consisted on Moldovan cars with 1520 mm gauge, in Ungheni has to change bogies (12 cars simultaneously in 38 minutes)¹⁸.

The line Cantemir-Fălciu operates rarely. It was equipped with mixed gauge, what made possible to enter by trains from Romania with gauge 1435 mm to Cantemir to the large transshipment terminal Prut II and by trains from Moldova to

Rădăuți - cel mai solicitat punct de trecere din nordul țării [Lipcani-Rădăuți – the most crowded border crossing point in northern part of state], „Moldova Azi” 24 II 2010 www.azi.md.

¹⁴ The decisions to reconstruct this bridge were taken in 2004. Then all costs were estimated on 75,5 mln Moldovan leu (MDL; 1 MDL≈0,3 RON) and the time of construction would be 21-24 months. V. Cubreacov, art. cit.

¹⁵ These constructions would be financed thanks to Romanian fund of 100 millions EUR established in April 2010 during visit the acting president of Moldova in București. *România și Republica Moldova vor construi două poduri peste Prut, la Nisporeni și Leova [Romania and Moldova will build two bridges over the Prut, in Nisporeni and Leova] , „TV7” 20 VIII 2011.*

¹⁶ In November 2011 the ministers of the transport of Moldova - Anatol Șalaru and Romania - Anca Boagiu met in București. They announced (without saying about deadlines) the intension to build direct bridge between Iași and Ungheni and to connect Romanian motorway Târgu Mureș-Iași with Moldovan republican road Chisinau-Ungheni. *Distanța dintre orașele Chișinău și Iași se va reduce cu 20 km în urma construcției unui pod peste Prut [Distance between Chișinău and Iași will be reduced about 20 km in case of construction new bridge over the Prut], „Noi.md” 29 XI 2011 www.noi.md.*

¹⁷ I. Craciun, *Patru poduri peste Prut vor fi refăcute [Four bridges over the Prut will be renovated], “Bună ziua Iași” 8 III 2012, www.bzi.ro.*

¹⁸ An interview with Anatoli Țvetcov - the representative of the Republic Moldova to the Organization for Co-operation Between Railways in Warsaw (OSJD; Организация сотрудничества железных дорог).

Fălciu with 1520 mm. However, because of the dramatic drastic decrease of traffic intensity, in 2008 1435 mm rails were demolished on Moldovan side.

Whereas the border crossing point Giurgiulești-Galați as the real connection between Romania and Moldova exists since short time. Earlier it was just a short transit section pressed between Romanian and Ukrainian railway network - nothing more than short section of connection between Ukraine and Galați, because the approach to Giurgiulești by railway from the other parts of Moldova was only possible as a transit through Ukraine via Reni¹⁹. Nowadays this is the shortest rail connection between București and Chișinău. Despite this, it serves only as the freight passage. Most of the passing trains transport iron ore from Ukraine to the Galați Steel Works. However, the meaning of this connection will grow up soon significantly thanks to construction in Giurgiulești port the rail and maritime transshipment terminal operating trains with Russian, but also European gauge. On the track joining Giurgiulești with Galați two rails will be added and the cross border dual-gauge connection will be established (it is planned to complete it in the autumn 2012)²⁰.

The lack of connections with Romania is a serious problem, because western neighbour is Moldova's second trade partner. In addition, states of EU become more and more important for Chișinău²¹. The bilateral trading, thanks of tightening Moldovan-European relations, will grow up, so modernization of the existing connections will be necessary, because the majority of goods from or to the West just must travel through the territory of Romania. The number of travellers between Romania and Moldova is expected to increase significantly thanks to the treaty about the small border movement allowing Moldovans and Romanians to cross border without the necessity of visas (to 50 km depth into each country; because of the surface and form of Moldovan territory, this facilitation is given to 1/3 occupants of the country). In the far future is also expected, that visas regime would be simplified or totally abolished.

Moldova always was just a periphery of Russia, then Romania and at last USSR. That is why it does not have the efficient internal communication network. The majority of routs run from east to west and connect Moldova with Ukraine or Romania. Meanwhile, there is the lack of connections on the axis north-south, which would assure the efficient internal transport. This could be seen especially when analysing of Moldovan railway network - very unfavourably in the point of view of development and state economic security.

¹⁹ Today all line Moldova-Reni-Giurgiulești-Galați has Russian gauge (1520 mm).

²⁰ This information was given by telephone by Irina Burunsus – Head of Marketing and PR of ICS Danube Logistics SRL.

²¹ The most important importers of Moldovan goods (mainly food, textiles, machines) are (2011): Russia 28,2 %, Romania 16,9 %, Italy 9,7 %, Ukraine 6,9 %, Germany 5%, Great Britain 4%, meanwhile the majority of Moldovan import (mainly fuels, machines and devices, chemicals, textiles) is from (2011): Russia 15,9 %, Ukraine 12,3 %, Romania 11,1 %, Russia 11%, China 7,7 %, Germany 7,7 %, Turkey 7,1 %, Italy 6,7 %. *CIA – The World Factbook*, www.cia.gov.

3. The railway transport

The Moldovan railways are run by the State Enterprise Railways in Moldova - Întreprindere de Stat Calea Ferată din Moldova (CFM)²². Near Lipcani and Larga on the northern ending of state exist two short railway sections isolated from the rest of Moldovan network by Ukrainian territory. Similarly is with the sections of Moldovan lines nearby Basarabeasca and Vulcănești, which run through the territory of Ukraine. However there Moldovan trains can ride without obstacles²³. Only ride to Giurgiulești via Reni needs border crossing procedures²⁴. In 1998 Chișinău waived the property of its railway infrastructure situated on the Ukrainian side of border and passed to Ukraine the 7,7 km long section of Odessa-Ismail road, which goes through Moldovan territory near Palanca village. In return for what Ukraine gave 430 m of the Danube bank, needed to construct the harbour in Giurgiulești²⁵.

3.1. The railway at war

The railway lines on Transnistrian terrains stay out of Moldovan control. This situation makes the serious difficulties to transport from Chișinău to Ukraine and Russia, because the trunk line runs through Transnistrian station Bender 2 and Tiraspol. But recently, just to approach from the capital to the south of country, trains needed to go through stations Bender 2 and Bender 1. In the past Transnistria several times used this weakness of Moldovan railway infrastructure. First of all, the tracks were blocked effectively during tensions and confrontation in the summer and the autumn 1991, which preceded the war between Transnistria and Moldova in 1992. Of course during the war tracks were also blocked. After that, the most

²² The most important organizational units of the CFM are: Ocnița, Bălți, Ungheni, Chișinău, Giurgiulești, Besarabeasca stations (economically independent), the Chișinău station building, the Bălți and Chișinău roundhouses, the railway cars depot in Bălți, the freight cars depot, the refrigerated cars depot in Besarabeasca and the factory of railway sleepers in Bălți. The CFM formally is an owner of stations Rîbnița, Tiraspol, Bender 1, Bender 2 and roundhouse in Bender, but in facts they are under Transnistrian control.

²³ The passengers, who are crossing the border just to transit do not need passport control and custom clearance. Just the passengers, who get out or get on the train on the stations on the Ukrainian side of border are forced to pass these procedures.

²⁴ The interview with Anatoli Țvetcov.

²⁵ Under the international law there was no territorial cession. Moldova just passed to Ukraine the property of road and its infrastructure. However this solution did not satisfy Ukrainians, who claimed that these legal conditions in fact made impossible to start any road works. What is more, this enigmatic situation was causing several incidents between the Moldovan and Ukrainian border guards. Finally in June 2010 Moldova passed also the property of soils under the road and its infrastructure. TAO, *Delimitacja granicy między Ukrainą a Moldawią [Delimitation of Ukrainian-Moldovan border]*, „Tydzień na Wschodzie” 1998 nr 31, OSW, p. 2.; *Moldova a cedat oficial ucrainei segmentul de drum din apropierea satului Palanca [Moldova officially ceded road section near Palanca village to Ukraine]*, „Stiri Locale” 30 VI 2011 www.stirilocale.md.

serious event was “the customs war” started 2001, when all trains from or to Moldova were stopped. The particularly hard situation appeared in August and September 2004, when Moldova introduced a new customs regime²⁶ and blocked all Transnistrian railway connections. The answer of Tiraspol on that was to create in October own the State Treasury United Enterprise Transnistrian Railways (PŽD)²⁷ and required all of CFM’s infrastructure and rolling stock (among others also the diesel multiple unit of four cars, which had been riding between Chişinău and Odessa) on the controlled terrain. That caused on Bender/Tighina rail terrains the skirmishes between Moldovan police and Transnistrian militia, which was occupying buildings and finally kept its positions. What is more, customs blockade was not fully effective, because Ukrainians let trains to enter to Transnistria (in spite of officially announced co-operation and support to Moldovan actions)²⁸. As the result, CFM lost the control over Transnistrian railway infrastructure and was not able to guarantee the safety of transports on this section. Some of Moldovan connections was suspended. Another trains going east had to go round Transnistria on the much longer way and to enter into Ukraine through northern station Ocnîța. The situation of Moldova appeared critical in September 2006, when the Ukrainian railway started the reparations of bridge near Moghilău (Могилів-Подільський) and was making difficult to use the longer way near Chelmenți (Кельменці)²⁹.

The suspension of the railway move through Transnistria appeared to be very severe for the both sides of conflict. Moldova was forced to send own trains through the northern, few hundreds km longer routs, what meant waste of time and was more expensive. On the other hand, Transnistria considerably lost its possibility for free foreign trade. The exported Transnistrian goods first of all were brought to Moldova by cars, then they were loaded on trains, passed customs clearance and were sent abroad through the northern routs. This procedure caused the additional difficulties and costs to Transnistrian enterprises. In fact the restoration of railway transport through Transnistria was the interest of both sides of this conflict. However none of them wanted to achieve the compromise and to make any concessions.

²⁶ Since this moment Transnistrian businessmen, to trade with foreign states, have been forced to register in Moldovan offices, and their goods have needed to pass through the Moldavian customs procedures. What is more, Moldovan customs officers had to be permitted by Ukraine to work on Ukrainian side of Transnistrian section of Moldovan border. In spite of this has not happened till today, Moldovan acts had caused many difficulties to Transnistrian foreign trade.

²⁷ Государственное Унитарное Казенное Предприятие Приднестровская Железная Дорога.

²⁸ During the first year after Moldova established the new customs regulations, Ukraine allowed to enter to Transnistria 16.420 railway cars without Moldovan customs clearance. *Ukraine allows 16,420 cars of cargo to enter Transnistria without Moldova's consent*, „Infotag” 2 III 2007 www.azi.md.

²⁹ *Moldovan Railroad Management Claim that Moldova Is Not Threatened by Railroad Blockade*, „Info-Prim Neo” 1 IX 2006 www.azi.md; *Ukraine Blocked Passenger and Cargo Railway Connection of Moldova with Russia*, “InfoMarket” 5 IX 2006 www.azi.md.

In December 2006, thanks to Russian and Ukrainian negotiators, was agreed to re-establish the freight move (but exclusively Russian and Ukrainian cars) through Transnistria to Moldova and passenger train Chişinău-Moscow-Chişinău (during the summer also the holiday train Saratov-Varna (with one car to Sofia)) served by Russian railways. However for very long time there was no success in restoring the full freight transport (by trains with Moldovan cars) through Transnistria and so expected by casual Moldovans and „Transnistrians” the suburban train Chişinău-Tiraspol-Odessa³⁰.

³⁰ In April 2008, thanks to new Russian initiative relating to the solution of Transnistrian conflict, the managements of the CFM and PZD met in Odessa. The long time was spent on discussion about back of Chişinău-Odessa train. Moldova, using the arguments about the safety of transports, health and life of passengers, presented the following conditions: 1) CFM workers should have the unembarrassed access and control over railway infrastructure in Transnistria and supervision over railway move, 2) on the railway stations in Transnistria tickets should be sale for MDL, 3) the international guarantees and rules of supervision over rolling stock in Transnistria should be establish, 4) all CFM rolling stock taken by Transnistria should be given back: diesel multiple unit, 13 diesel locomotives and 297 freight cars, 5) Moldovan transport police and CFM inspectors should let to control over passenger trains crossing Transnistria. *Official Statemant of administration SU „Railway of Moldova”,* www.railway.md. The director of PŽD - Sergei Marcinko rejected the entrance of Moldovan police on the terrain of Transnistrian railway and to sale of tickets for another currency than Transnistrian rubles. Whereas Tiraspol offered to sign the bilateral agreement about: the common use of the rolling stock in Transnistria, including the diesel multiple unit and the technical inspection of the international commission to it. PZD also proposed to transfer control over routs and security of transports in Transnistria to the Odessa department of the Ukrainian Railways. Another was to let Moldovan and Transnistrian train dispatchers to work together on Novosaviţcaia (Новосавицкая), Tiraspol and Bender stations. The controllers of the CFM would participated in the clearance of diesel multiple unit. On the stations in Bender and Tiraspol could be installed special devices to sale tickets for MDL. *Дорога преткновения [Road with obstacles], „Eho”* 25.07.2008 www.eho-ua.com. In 2010 the new proposal was presented by PŽD during the next round of negotiation. Marcinko offered to new (from the Alliance for European Integration government) Moldovan minister of transport and infrastructure Anatol Şalaru to start railway connections from Chişinău to Odessa, Saint Petersburg, Minsk, Adler and Simferopol through the territory of Transnistria. He also renewed the proposal to permit CFM controllers and and proposed to create the common system of tickets selling on Bender and Tiraspol stations and to sign the bilateral agreement about the financial settlement for mutual use of the rolling stock and infrastructure. *Tiraspolul cere Chişinăului să reia comunicaţiile feroviare pe teritoriul Transnistriei [Tiraspol asks Chişinău to bring back rail communication through Transnistrian territory], „Infotag”* 4 II 2010 www.azi.md. In June 2010 Marcinko also announced that the representatives of EU called PŽD and CFM to co-operate, even informal, and to restarts the train Chişinău-Tiraspol-Odessa. The manage this the new enterprise would be established by the agreement between CFM and PŽD. The seat of it would be in Transnistria, but temporary it would be registered in Transnistria. *Transnistria agrees on launching Chisinau-Odessa train, „Infotag”* 9 VI 2010 www.azi.md.

Finally both sides reached the agreement. First of all PŽD turned back CFM the diesel multiple unit. Then sides agreed to reestablish passenger connection Chişinău-Tiraspol-Odessa since October 2010 and till may 2011 to restore full passenger railway communication in Transnistria. The details of this agreement were not announced. It is only known, that CFM resigned to regain the property taken by Transnistria and PŽD agreed to enter on its tracks trains pulled by Moldovan engines. It is nothing known about the payments for using Transnistrian routs by CFM and about sharing profits from tickets sale³¹.

In the end on 30 March 2012 in Tiraspol Moldovan prime minister Vlad Filat and Transnistrian president Yevgeny Shevchuk signed the agreement about restoration of full railway move through Transnistria. On Rîbniţa nad Bender 2 trains would pass custom clearance by mix Moldovan and Transnistrian officers. The first Moldovan freight trains since establishment of the blockade entered Rîbniţa and then Ukraine on 26 April 2012³².

3.2. Calea Ferată din Moldova

The solution of the problem of Transnistrian blockade of railway communication from Chişinău and the northern part of state to southern one, was the reconstruction of (destroyed in 1944 by the withdrawing Germans) forces 46 km long Căinari-Revaca line. It passes Bender station and shortens the distance from Chişinău to the southern areas for about 72 km³³. The reconstruction began in 1993, but was stopped quickly when 43 km of tracks were still to construct. The second decision to re-established this line was taken in November 2004. Finally it was opened in September 2005. The main difficulty during the construction was the question to or not to rebuilt 689 m long tunnel near Bălţaţi village, which was blown up in 1944³⁴.

³¹ *Moldawia i Naddniestrze wznowią połączenia kolejowe [Moldova and Transnistria will restore railway connection]*, „Tydzień na Wschodzie”, 2010, nr. 33, www.osw.waw.pl, p. 10.

³² *Porozumienie o przywróceniu ruchu kolejowego przez Naddniestrze [Agreement about restablising of railway traffic through Transnistria]*, „Wiadomości z regionu” nr 65 2 IV 2012, www.osw.waw.pl; *Moldawia bliżej Naddniestrza [Moldova is clouser to Transnistria]*, „Wiadomości z regionu” nr 83 27 IV 2012 www.osw.waw.pl.

³³ *Moldovan Government Approves Restoration of Old Railroad Branch*, „Infotag” 4 XI 2004 www.azi.md; *The Revaca-Cainari Railway Can Be Put into Operation at the Beginning of November 2005*, „InfoMarket” 27 V 2005 www.azi.md; *The Revaca-Cainari Railway Section Strengthened the RM's Economic Security, - Prime Minister Vasile Tarlev*, „InfoMarket” 29 IX 2005 www.azi.md.

³⁴ In 1944 Soviets arrested hundreds of people, who in 1941-1944 had cooperated with Romanian administration of Basarabia. Their fate has been not explained till today. It is said, that in 1944 NKVD executed the mass manslaughter of "the enemies of nation" in the remaining fragments of the tunnel. But till today its remains have been not cleared of rubble, so it is impossible to confirm or deny to these speculations. D. Lazur, *Tunelul morţii, op. cit.*

Because of great price and time consumption, CFM decided not to restore this tunnel and to mark out new route passing the remains from north³⁵.

To make railway traffic between Moldova and Ukraine independent from the situation in Transnistria was bilateral decision to rebuild (demolished in 2000) 22,7 km long trans-border line Basarabeasca-Berezine (this decision was taken in March 2006, but works have not been started)³⁶. The second one could be by Kiev's decision (taken in August 2007; works have not begun) to build railway between danubian harbours Ismail and Reni (today Reni has just the connection with the southern section of Moldovan railways and Romania)³⁷. Ismail-Reni line could improve communication between southern Moldova and Ukraine and her Black Sea and danubian ports. On the other hand, it would reduce considerably CFM's income for transit via Moldova to Reni harbour and to steel mill foundry in Romanian Galați, where iron ore is transported from Ukraine via Moldovan territory. What is more, Ismail-Reni line would be the beginning of the direct Romanian-Ukrainian connection over the Danube, which would pass fully the territory of Moldova. That would deprive her of all income paid for transit between Ukraine and Romania. In fact, the amount for this was already reduced after the restructuring of Galați steelworks. But because of cold relations between these two states, so great construction seems to be impossible in the nearest future.

In August 2008 absolutely new 52 km long line between Cahul and Giurgiulești, connecting the sea port and oil terminal with the rest of country, was completed. This construction was progressing with express speed, cost 836 millions MDL and was lasting for 14 months, when was planned for 36 months³⁸. But today an accusation appears, that during works numerous abuses, especially with expropriation of private soil owners and transfer the state forests to build there³⁹. What is more, according to present income, cost of construction will be paid after 80 years. It is the result of bad economic calculation of former, communist government of state and CFM. But also Oleg Voronin (one of the richest man in Moldova; son of former president Vladimir) is accused, that thanks to the fictitious contract on earthworks with connected with him company Modconstruct Market, he embezzled 3.440.000

³⁵ The interview with Anatoli Țvetcov.

³⁶ *Информация для прессы о визите министра транспорта и дорожного хозяйства г-на Гагауза М.У. в Киев, Украина* [The information for press about the visit of minister of transport and road network Mr. M.U. Gagauz in Kiev, Ukraine], www.railway.md.

³⁷ *Ukraine announces construction of Reni-Ismail railroad*, "Info-Prim Neo" 8 VIII 2007 www.azi.md; В. Шимко, *А мы поедим другим путем* [But we will go another way], „Magistral” brak daty publikacji www.uz.gov.ua.

³⁸ *President inaugurates Cahul-Giurgiulesti railway*, „Info-Prim Neo” 25 VII 2008 www.azi.md.

³⁹ *The railroad Cahul-Giurgiulesti build on a land given illegally*, „Jurnal.md” 22 IV 2010 www.jurnal.md.

EUR from the public treasure⁴⁰. It is also important to underline, that against this investment protested many ecological organizations which claimed that it was completing without any environmental studies first, so it could destroy the unique character of the National Park of Lower Prut Swamps⁴¹.

The current (2010) rolling stock of CFM consist of: 2 steam engines, 152 diesel locomotives, 30 diesel multiple units, 379 passenger cars, 99 railcars and railcar trailers, 7908 freight cars⁴². But is difficult to say if all of them are in fact the property of CFM or some of them are kept by PŽD. Moldovan rolling stock is old (the newest were built in 1988), exploited and obsolete⁴³. In 2009 CFM transported 5.186.700 passengers and 4.414.900 t of goods and worked about 422,8 millions passengers-kilometres and 1.016,7 millions tonne-kilometres (2009; but is not clear if these are CFM data only or together with PŽD)⁴⁴. It employs about 10.300 workers and has more than 100 railway stations and stops.

Nowadays Moldova exploits 1176 km of Russian gauge (1520 mm) and 14 km of European gauge rails (1435 mm). What is more, only line from Ukrainian station of Kuchurgan to Transnistrian Tyaspola has all-long double-track. CFM has also several short double-track sections, but they serve only to enlarge the capacity in the concrete neuralgic places. North from Chişinău and near Ukrainian Bolhrad existed double-track sections, but were demolished, because exploitation of these not integrated sections was

⁴⁰ D. Lazur, V. Calugăreanu, *Sugativa de bani publici de la Giurgiuleşti [Theft of public money from Giurgiuleşti]*, "Jurnal de Chişinău" 24 XII 2009 www.ziar.jurnal.md.

⁴¹ *Cahul-Giurgiulesti rail line project poses environmental threats to the Lower Prut Wetlands National Preserve*, „Info-Prim Neo” 25 V 2005 www.azi.md; *Environmental NGOs seek suspension of construction works on Giurgiulesti-Cahul railway branch*, „Reporter.md” 14 VI 2005 www.azi.md.

⁴² *Бюллетень статистических данных ОСЖД по железнодорожному транспорту за 2010 год [The OSJD statistic bulletin about railway transport in 2010]*, Варшава 2011, p.4.

⁴³ The director of CFM announced, that since May 2012 14 completely rebuilt and modernized in Romania (with all European standards), passenger diesel multiple units (old D1 trains) have been delivered. Each of the new trains consist of 1st class and three 2nd and 3rd class cars. The cost of this investment is 30 millions EUR. It was also announced, that CFM allocated 60 millions EUR more on modernization of the rolling stock. 8 millions EUR will be given for modernization of 12 cars, which will run to EU countries and 25 millions EUR are assigned to buy 22 new cars for Chişinău-Moscow connection. A. Slanina, *FOTO Primul tren modernizat a fost prezentat astăzi și i va circula pe direcția Tighina-Ocnița [The first modernized train was presented today and will run on Tighina-Ocnița line]*, www.mtid.gov.md; *Trenuri moderne: Calea Ferată inițiază un program de renovare a parcului de vagoane și locomotive [Modern trains; Calea Ferată starts program of locomotives and cars fleet modernisation]*, “Publika TV” 25 I 2012 www.publika.md.

⁴⁴ *Отчет о деятельности Организации Сотрудничества Железных Дорог за 2009 год [Report about OSJD activity in 2009]*, Варшава 2010, p.5.

uneconomical. What is more, demolished railway tracks and parts were used as the exchangeable parts or during construction of Revaca-Căinari line⁴⁵.

Moldovan railways are not electrified at all. In the late 80s the electrification works on Rozdilna (Zhmerynka-Odessa main line)-Kuchurgan-Tiraspol-Bender-Chișinău-Ungheni line started, but the collapse of USSR stopped them. The electric traction was installed only from Rozdilna to frontier Ukrainian Kuchurgan and between Kuchurgan and Bender/Tighina just pylons were built⁴⁶.

Moldovan track and stations stay in poor condition, so, the speeds of trains are low⁴⁷ and delays are noting exceptional. On the other hand during 2001-2005 685,2 km of tracks were repaired, what cost 291 millions MDL. During 2008-2011 was intended to repair additional 350 km for 782,5 millions MDL given by CFM and the state budget. About 100,6 millions MDL more was planned for projects and different expenses⁴⁸.

CFM is not able to collect alone all funds to keep the infrastructure and to buy fuel and technical materials. The urgent need is to increase the cost-effectiveness of passenger traffic, because today it causes great losses⁴⁹ and is realized using funds earned on goods transport. About 81,7% of CFM income is from freight transports, but about 96% of it come from transports in the international movement⁵⁰. This makes the situation of CFM very unfavourable. Moldovan railways in fact are entirely dependent on the economic situation in Russia and Ukraine, Romania and all the Balkan states, but also on the relations and trade exchange between these countries. What is more, the significant part of cargos between Ukraine and Russia and Romania on the other side, is iron ore and another goods for Galați steelworks. Therefore, if the crisis appears only in this branch of industry, that will cause serious financial trouble to CFM. And if the direct railway connection and bridge is

⁴⁵ Similarly in the future also lines to Cupcini and to Glodeni, used only to freight move, are closed, if the local factories will give up the railway services. The interview with Anatoli Țvetcov.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ For example the international train Chișinău-Moscow Kiyevsky No. 047 runs 185 km route between the biggest two Moldovan cities (except of Transnistrian Tiraspol) Chișinău and “the northern capital” Bălți (station Oraș) during 3 hours and 14 minutes (according to the schedule), what means 57 km/h. However the train suburban Ungheni-Chișinău train No. 6025 runs 109 km in 3 hour and 44 minute, what means 29 km/h.

⁴⁸ Pkt. 80-85, *Strategia infrastructurii transportului terestru pe ani 2008-2017 [The strategy of land transport infrastructure for years 2008-2017]*, Aprobată prin Hotărârea Guvernului nr.85 din 1 februarie 2008, Publicat: 12.02.2008 în Monitorul Oficial Nr. 30-31 art nr: 159.

⁴⁹ In 2001-2010 passenger traffic caused about 1,16 bilion MDL losses. So to improve this, the drastic solution is proposed – 85 stations (of total 105) would be closed and 68 local trains would be removed. *CFM ar putea sista transportul feroviar de călători pe 68 rute și închide 85 de stații și gări [CFM would stop 68 passenger connections and close 85 stops and stations]*, „Știri locale” 9 I 2012 www.stiriilocale.md.

⁵⁰ Pkt. 26 și 27, *Strategia infrastructurii transportului...*, doc. cit. .

constructed between Ukraine and Romania on the Danube, that will mean the total financial catastrophe of CFM.

So, the restructuring of the CFM is necessary. In this context also the division into three companies: infrastructure, transport of goods and transport of people, what should help to manage more effectively and improve financial results. But also the change of Soviet mentality of management and usual CFM workers CFM is indispensable, because since the Soviet times nearly nothing has changed in this matter⁵¹.

One of the most important investment is the electrification of traction, which would allow to increase speed of personal trains to 110 km km/h and freight ones to 90 of the km/h⁵². This would also reduce costs of traffic, what would make railway more attractive. At first, the electrification is planned on Iași-Ungheni-Chișinău-Tiraspol-Kuchurgan line, secondly Chișinău-Căinari-Basarabeasca-Cahul-Giurgulești-Galați, and finally Ungheni-Bălți-Ocnița-Moghilău⁵³.

The second important aim is to form the railway network according to real needs of state economy. In the far future the constructions of new lines over the Dniester through Soroca and Iampol⁵⁴ and line to Romania over the Prut through

⁵¹ The previous general director of CFM (in office 2000-2009), associated with communists Miron Găgăuz does not even know the state language of Moldova - Romanian. What is more, he allowed to or took part in several embezzlement of CFM funds and property. For example, it is said, that because of his four deals Moldovan state lost about 31 millions MDL - about 500 freight cars were lend on very disadvantageous conditions to Intertranscord SRL company (with share capital of 5400 MDL; the founders of it were: Vladimir Kiko - citizen of Tiraspol and Terboch Limited company rejected in Cyprus). *Miron Găgăuz acuzat de prejudicierea intereselor publice cu 31 milioane lei [Miron Găgăuz is accused of lost public 31 milions MDL]*, „Moldova Azi” 16 XII 2009 www.azi.md. Short time ago, the visit on the web side of CFM www.railway.md caused the specific impression. Russian was the starting language. Texts about history were full of glorification of the Soviet times and unambiguous condemnation of the Romanian „occupation” of Basarabia. Another materials, also relating to contemporary events, were also full of rhetoric and expressions characteristic to Soviet propaganda. However, the most serious sign of the mentality of Moldovan railways was the state emblem of the Soviet Union (non-existent since 1991) in the left upper horn, where the glittering Moldovan flag with CFM’s logo in today. Nowadays the director of CFM is, affiliated with the Alliance for European Integration, Vitalie Strună, who had been working for 15 years in railway sector in Romania. From the web side disappeared Soviet texts and state emblem. Now Romanian is the starting language of the web side (in addition it is called normally Romanian not Moldovan).

⁵² Н.И. Бондарь, *Историческая справка...*, art. cit.

⁵³ The interview with Anatoli Țvetcov.

⁵⁴ Before the Second World War CFR planned to construct new railway line Chișinău-Orhei-Soroca-Otaci. Situated on the other bank of the Dniester Ukrainian Iampol and neighbouring Tsekinovka were connected with Vapniarka station on the main line Odessa-Zhmerynka (also was connected with Haivoron narrow-gauge railway system) by narrow-gauge railway

Nisporeni and Leușeni⁵⁵ are considered, but probably they will never be built⁵⁶. According to the European aspiration of Moldova, is proposed to build, longwise the existing one, a new one railway line from Chișinău to frontier Ungheni. This track would have European gauge, be electrified and accordance all European standards and as the result, would ensure fast and efficient communication from Iași - the capital of the Romanian Moldova to Chișinău. Maybe, in face of vague chances of European accession, it is the good idea to consider to convert all of the tracks from Russian into European gauge⁵⁷.

Nevertheless, Russian experts show that CFM is one from the most backward CIS railways and the construction of European gauge line Ungheni-Chișinău (and maybe to Kuchurgan) is nothing else than a dream. Neither CFM, even nor the Republic Moldova is able to collect 500-800 millions USD to implement this idea⁵⁸. On the other hand, in the case of realization, this project would be probably constructed by consortium created by Chișinău and București in common and also would gain the financial support from EU. What is more, CFM management claims, that construction of European gauge line to Chișinău will open great perspectives of economic development to Moldova, but also EU⁵⁹.

(750 mm). This line was demolished in 1997. *Узкоколейные Железные Дороги Винницкой Области [Narrow gauge railways in Vinnitsa Oblast]*, www.narrow.parovoz.com.

⁵⁵ During the first world war to supply the Romanian front with war materials the narrow-gauge (1000 mm) line Crasna-Bucovăț was constructed. In the interwar period it was closed and the conversion into European gauge was started, but before 1940 only Crasna-Huși section on the western bank of the Prut was made. Rest of this line was never finished. The remains of narrow-gauge line were demolished.

⁵⁶ The interview with Anatoli Țvetcov.

⁵⁷ Pkt. 122 i 123, *Strategia infrastructurii transportului...*, doc. cit.

⁵⁸ *Experts doubt Moldova's ability to build European rail gauge*, "Infotag" 5 IV 2011 www.azi.md.

⁵⁹ In Chișinău (in Ungheni is impossible because of lack of efficient area) is proposed to construct great trans-shipping terminal operating 1435 and 1520 mm gauge rail cars. This terminal could be the continental centre operating loads between UE, CIS and China (the analogous terminal already exists in Kazakhstan and reloads goods from Chinese cars 1435 mm to Russian ones). This venture would shorten (in comperison with sea transport) time of transport between UE and China, and safe about 15-20% of costs. To choose Chișinău as a localization of terminal is the best solution, because Moldova is not a EU member, so the costs of construction and run would be much lower. E. Ilie, *Căile Ferate din Republica Moldova trebuie să liberalizeze piața de transport feroviar pentru operatorii private [Căile Ferate din Moldova nead opening railway transport marked to private forwarders]*, „Railway PRO the railway buisness magazine” 24 IV 2012 www.railwaypro.com.

3.3 Приднестровская Железная Дорога

PŽD does not have the integrated network - has Bender section, main in Tiraspol and isolated in Rîbnița⁶⁰. Recently the serious problem of PŽD was lack of the direct connection between Bender/Tighina and Tiraspol line and track to Dnestrovsc and heat power station (Молдавская ГРЭС) in the southern ending of country, because junction, which joins both sections is in on Ukrainian Kuchurgan station. Since March 2006, when Kiev had started cooperation with Moldova to block the independent Transnistrian foreign trade, Ukrainians let trains just to enter from Kuchurgan to Livada station on the section to Dnestrovsc. There goods were reload on trucks and transported to Tiraspol. In addition there is no repair shop on Dnestrovsk section, so rolling stock has been working there, to go to Bender roundhouse for repairs and inspections, needed to cross Ukrainian Kuchurgan. That is why Transnistria decided to construct 1,4 km long connection between both lines (between stations Livada and Novosavițcaia) for sum of 1,2 million USD. The works were finished in November 2008, after five months⁶¹.

The management of PŽD claims that the enterprise has been developed very dynamically: since April 2006 till April 2007 it transported more than 5,5 millions t of loads and its profits reached 86 millions of Transnistrian rubles (10 millions USD), in 2008 in Rîbnița was opened the factory of railway sleepers and small roundhouse, the salaries are very attractive, so many CFM workers moved to PŽD. Yet in June 2010 Marcinko admitted that, transports taken by PŽD (to compare with 2008) were about 2/3 reduced. As the result, many workers were fired and another work just four days per week⁶². That is probably why Transnistria so much strived for restart of the connection Chișinău-Tiraspol-Odessa and to restore full railway movement through own territory. That was needed to provide financial support to safe existence of PŽD, because the bankruptcy of Transnistrian railways would be great prestige defeat of separatists.

⁶⁰ From Ukrainian Rudnitsa (on Odessa-Zhmeryna main line) to Transnistrian Camenca existed also narrow-gauge line (750 mm), which was closed in 1997 and demolished two years later. С. Болашенко, Узкоколейная Железная Дорога Гайворонского Отделения Одесской Железной Дороги [Narrow gauge railway of Haivoron branch of Odessa Railway Department], www.sbchf.narod.ru.

⁶¹ Начальник Приднестровской Железной Дороги Сергей Марцинко: „Наш Севодняшний Путь – Это Путь Развития” [Head of Transnistrian Railways Sergei Marcinko: “Today our way is a way of development”, „Olvia-press” 3 VIII 2008 www.olvia.idknet.com; В Приднестровье открыта железнодорожная ветка, которая будет иметь большое значение [In Transnistria railway line was opened and it will be very important], „Olvia-press” 6 XI 2008 www.olvia.idknet.com.

⁶² Transnistria agrees...

Ending

Moldovan railway system, as the whole transport network, is disintegrated, outmoded and unsubsidized. That is why it can not ensure normal functioning and development of state. However, Moldovan government and CFM management arranged great work to improve this situation. On the other hand, that is still just a drop in the ocean. Moldova too poor to restore all needed infrastructure and rolling stock and too weak re-establish control over routes situated in Transnistria. There is just a little hope, that this situation will be changing for better. This will be possible, only if the current government really tries to integrate Moldova with EU and EU makes real steps to support Moldova in her European aspirations. Unfortunately Moldovan pro-European government is still weak and unstable and EU because of the economic crisis is cares about oneself.

RUSSIA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE THE 3rd MILLENIUM. GEOPOLITICAL RESOURCES AND OPTIONS

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Rezumat: Autorii prezintă și analizează resursele demografice și economice ale Rusiei și, totodată, opțiunile geopolitice favorizate de prezența acestora. Din punct de vedere geopolitic, Rusia are o serie de dificultăți demografice (scăderea ratei natalității, densitate demografică slabă, speranță de viață redusă și starea general de sănătate precară a populației). Cu toate acestea, Rusia zilelor noastre este cea mai bogată țară a lumii. Pe baza acestor considerații, autorii consideră că Rusia ar putea deveni o superputere reală (în concordanță cu aprecierile lui Zbigniew Brzezinski) numai dacă își va rezolva problemele demografice și își va construi o armată și economie de tip occidental, pe baza uriașelor sale resurse economice.

Abstract: The authors present and analyze demographic and economic resources of Russia and also its geopolitical options, favored by the control of these resources. Geopolitically, nowadays Russia has great difficulties when it comes to demography, because of the decrease of birth rate, to the poor demographic density, low life expectancy and its population's precarious general health state. All the same, nowadays Russia is the richest country in the world. Based on these considerations, the authors consider that Russia could become a true super-power (according to Zbigniew Brzezinski's considerations) only if it will solve its demographical problems and will build a Western-style army and economy, based on its huge economic resources.

Résumé: Les auteurs présentent et analysent les ressources démographiques et économiques de la Russie et aussi des options géopolitiques favorisées par leur présence. En termes de géopolitique, la Russie dispose d'un certain nombre de problèmes démographiques (faible taux de natalité, faible densité de population, l'espérance de vie réduite et une mauvaise santé générale de la population). Cependant, la Russie est aujourd'hui le pays le plus riche du monde. Sur la base de ces considérations, les auteurs considèrent que cette pays pourrait devenir une réelle superpuissance (tout en accord avec les opinions de Zbigniew Brzezinski) si sa population est déterminée à fonder une armée et une économie aussi de type occidental, basées sur ses énormes ressources économiques.

Keywords: Russia, geopolitics, demography, economy, mineral resources, oil, gas, carbon, superpower

Introduction

In the modern area, the Russian geopolitics was that of a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional state, strongly landlocked, which has tried to ensure the opening to the Baltic, Black and Caspian Seas, as well as to the Pacific Ocean in the 19th century. By promoting the concepts of Pan-Slavism and Pan-Orthodoxy, Russia has considerably extended towards east and south, conquering Caucasus, the Black Sea northern coastline, the area around the Caspian Sea and the trans-Caspian steppes from Central Asia.

Also, in the 19th century, Russia had become an American power, being present in Alaska and California. The Russian Empire has manifested strong ambitions regarding the Persian Gulf, the Middle East, Tibet, Chinese Turkestan, India and even Korea. The end of the Second World War finds USSR as a winner, with an influence area in central and south-eastern Europe. USSR has recomposed almost completely the former Imperial Russia's perimeter, as well as that of new territories, such as: the Baltic States, parts of the Finnish territories, a portion of Prussia (Kaliningrad – Königsberg), Byelorussia, the Polish Ukraine and the trans-Carpathian Ukraine, Bessarabia, Tuva, Sakhaline and the Kurile Islands¹.

Nowadays, Russia is making efforts to adapt to the post-imperial reality, and block Turkey and Iran's influence over the new central-Asian independent states, to discourage the formation of an American regional or independent Central-Asian co-operation, and limit the American geopolitical influence in the new sovereign capitals. The chosen instrument for reaching this purpose has been firstly the Independent States Community (ISC), though in some places, using Russian armies and the Russian diplomacy smartly using the *divide et tempera* principle, have served as well the Russian interests, the purpose being the maximum obedience from the part of the new states towards the Russian objective. The political Russian governors have explicitly said that they see the Central Asia area as their own geopolitical space, even if formally it is no longer an integral part of their empire, Russia making special efforts in order to keep its military presence on the new states' territory.

In the 1990's the new Russia was preoccupied by the internal problems and was materially speaking, unable to perform its influence outside the borders, even in the close proximity of the republics of the former USSR. Russia created the ISC in 1991, in a desperate effort of maintaining or regaining a part of the former USSR authority, but this re-shaping experiment was not a success. The intention was that the

¹ Vasile Marin, *Aspecte geopolitice ale spațiului ex-sovietic* [Geopolitical aspects of the former soviet space], în „GeoPolitica”, Bucharest, Top Form Publishing House, no.16-17, p. 38-39.

ISC create a unified military command and create a joint market between Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kirghizstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine and Uzbekistan².

In this study the demographic and economic resources of Russia will be analyzed, in order to answer if Russia is or could become a real superpower.

I. Population

The population in Russia was estimated on January 1st 2010 to be of 142,905 thousand inhabitants, the historical peak being reached in 1991 (148,689,000). In 1959, the Russian Federation population was 117,239 thousand inhabitants, in 1970 of 129,941 thousand inhabitants, in 1979 of 137,409 thousand inhabitants, in 1989 of 147,021 thousand inhabitants, while in 2002 of 145,166 thousand inhabitants.³

Demographic index. The population's density is of 8.3 inhabitants per square kilometer, Russia being a poorly developed country, if we compare it to the surface of the territory⁴. The largest population density (almost 105 million inhabitants) is registered in the Asian part of the Russian Federation. In the European part, the largest concentration of population is to be found in the regions of Moscow and Sankt Petersburg. In Russia, 73% of the population lives in the urban area. The birth rate in Russia has increased from the lowest point (8.27 births per 1000 inhabitants in 1999) to 12.4 per 1000 inhabitants in 2009, while the fertility rate has increased from the lowest point) 1.16 per thousand inhabitants in 1999), to 1.54 per thousand inhabitants in 2009. If the birth rate in Russia can be compared to that of other developed countries, the death rate is way bigger, especially within men of working age, because of the existence of certain heart diseases and of a high percent of accidents. The general life expectancy in 2010 was of 68.7 years, in men – of 62.8 years, while in women – of 74.7 years.⁵

The demographic gap between the European and Asian areas. Almost 105 million Russian citizens live in the European area of the state. The rest lives in the Asian area, which creates large geostrategic vulnerabilities to the country. The military-industrial complex plays a very important role in the administrative organization of the Russian spaces, since in many territories (especially in those

² Paul Dobrescu, *Violența globalizării. Asaltul asupra puterii americane* [The trickery of globalization. The assault on the American power], Iași, Institutul European Publishing House, 2010, p. 263.

³ http://www.gks.ru/bgd/regl/b11_12/IssWWW.exe/stg/d01/05-01.htm (Федеральная служба государственной статистики – *Federal State Statistics Service* – i.e. of Russia). Accessed in 30.03.2012.

⁴ Alexandru Ungureanu, Ionel Muntele, *Geografia populației* [Geography of Population], Iași, Sedcom Libris Publishing House, 2006, p. 113

⁵ http://www.gks.ru/bgd/regl/b11_12/IssWWW.exe/stg/d01/05-07.htm (Федеральная служба государственной статистики). Accessed in 30.03.2012.

poorly populated) the civilians live within the towns and military bases areas. The location of the most important industrial centers also depends on this fact, these centers being also related to the so-called “defending industry”. In fact, the entire geopolitical configuration of Russia depends on the military doctrine model⁶.

The natural growth gap of different ethnicities within the same state may have important geopolitical consequences in that, that it can produce relocations of the ratios between the respective populations. Throughout the USSR period, the Russian ethnic population, which was of 145 million people then, had the same number of children as the Muslim population, which numbered only 50 million people⁷. Currently, the Muslim populations within the Russian federation have an increasing natural growth, so that, in time, the Muslim population proportion will increase, in the detriment to the Russian one. Some UNO estimations for the Russian Federation estimated that somewhere in 2050, a population of 121 million inhabitants will live in Russia⁸. A more optimistic estimation of the United Nations Organization offered for the Russian Federation as for 2050 a population of almost 134 million inhabitants⁹.

The degree of the country’s population’s dispersion depends largely on the climatic conditions, being characterized by a large population density in the Central Europe’s districts, Southern Europe and Northern Caucasus districts. Compared to the 2002 census, the 2010 census results show that the population has decreased in 63 regions of the country. The most significant decrease of the number of inhabitants took place in the region of Magadan (14%), in Pskovsk and the Komi Republic (11.5%), as well as in the Murmansk, Kirov and Kurgan regions (11%).

Instead, the population has increased in 20 regions from the Russian Federation, the largest increases taking place in the Daghestan Republic (15.6%), the Chechnyan Republic (15%), Moscow (11%), the Karachayevo-Cherkessian Republic (8.9%), the Moscow region (7.2%), the Khanty-Mansi-Ugra Autonomous Territory (6.9%). The Southern District Population has decreased by 0.8%, with a slight increase of population in the Krasnodar territory and the Astrahan region. In the North Caucasus District the population has increased by 6.3%. In the Volga District the population decreased, with the exception of the Tatarstan Republic, where a 0.2

⁶ Aleksandr G. Dughin, *Bazele geopoliticii* [Geopolitics principles], vol. I, *Viitorul geopolitic al Rusiei* [Geopolitical future of Russia], translated from Russian into Romanian by Valentina Roșca, Bucharest, Eurasiatica Publishing House, 2010, p. 197. The first edition: *Основы Геополитики: Геополитическое будущее России*, Moscow, ArktoGaia Publishing House, 1997.

⁷ Paul Dobrescu, *Geopolitica* [Geopolitics], Comunicare.ro Publishing House, Bucharest, 2003, p. 109.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p.112.

⁹ http://www.insee.fr/fr/themes/tableau.asp?reg_id=98&ref_id=CMPTEF01116 (Institut national de la statistique et des etudes economiques – National Institute for Statistics and Economics Studies - France). Accessed in 06.04.2012.

increase was registered. The Ural District population has decreased by 2.4%, while the Tiumen region population, the Khanty - Mansi - Ugra district population has increased, as a result of natural migration. In the Siberian District, the population has decreased by 4.0 %, some population increases being observed only in the republics of Altai and Tuva.

Demographic vulnerabilities. In 2010, in Russia, the number of women significantly surpassed that of men, women representing 53.7% of the population, while men only 46.3%¹⁰.

Statistics clearly show a significant decrease of the number of marriages in the last 50 years (1960 - 2010). The annual marriages number has decreased by 28.4%. The marriage rate has decreased, throughout this period of time, by 1.5 times – from 12.5 to 8.5 marriages per thousand inhabitants. In 2010, 640,000 divorces have been registered, as opposed to 1.2 million marriages. In the last few years, the Russian Federation has been ranked first in the world in the divorce rate, one of the effects being the fact that the number of reported children per woman is currently the same as the number of children reported per woman at beginnings of the 1990's (1.4 – 1.5 children), with which the Russia's depopulation process has started.

During 1989-2002, the ratio of one-child families has increased from 51% to 65%, while the ratio of families having two, three or more children, by contrast, has suddenly dropped: from 39% to 28% for two children, and from 10% to 6.6 – for the three or more children families. During 1992-2010 almost 40.5 million abortions have been performed in Russia¹¹.

At the beginning of the 21st century, Russia is described by a low life expectancy, not only compared to the economically developed countries, but also to the states with the same level of development. The life expectancy was of 69 years in 2009¹², Russia being ranked 162 out of 220 countries in which similar statistics have been performed. A bigger life expectancy is observed in the North Caucasus and Moscow regions, where men exceed the age of 69 and the women exceed the age of 77. The lowest numbers are registered in Tuva and the Chukotka region: 55 years for men, and 66 years for women¹³.

Demographic imbalance with geostrategic implications. In the Russian part of the Amur River area from the Far Orient, only 7.4 Russian people live, while in the

¹⁰ http://www.perepis-2010.ru/results_of_the_census/VPN-BR.pdf (Предварительные итоги всероссийской переписи населения 2010 года – Preliminary Results of the Census in Russia, 2010). Accessed in 30.03.2012.

¹¹ http://www.demographia.ru/articles_N/index.html?idR=21&idArt=1926 (Институт демографических исследований – Institute of Demographic Research – i.e. in Russia). Accessed in 06.04.2012.

¹² <http://data.worldbank.org/country/russian-federation>. Accessed in 06.04.2012.

¹³ http://www.demographia.ru/articles_N/index.html?idR=21&idArt=1926. Accessed in 06.04.2012.

Chinese area of the Amur River, over 70 million Chinese people live there. From 1989 up to the present day, the Russian population in this region has decreased by 8%, while the Chinese one has increased by 13%. Also, an emigration of the Chinese people in the Far Orient Russian area registers a very alert rhythm, a phenomenon which the worried Russian authorities try to block. China, instead, is taking advantage of this phenomenon, the demographic factors developing in its interest¹⁴.

On the Chinese part of the Amur River, the population of the Heilongjiang province has been, at the 2010 census, of 38,312,224 people, representing 2.86% of China's total population. The interior Mongolia autonomous region's population was in 2010 of 24,706,321 people¹⁵.

On the Russian part of the Amur River, one may find certain administrative entities which hold great geographic areas, very poorly developed from the demographic point of view, compared to the Chinese south.

The region of Amur covers 363,700 square kilometers, and is included in the Far Orient District. The region's population was of 864,500 people (estimation for January 1st 2009), out of which 565,300 people lived in urban areas, while 299,200 people lived in rural areas. The ethnic structure of the population in 2010 was the following: Russian population – 92%, Ukrainians – 3.5%, Evenki – 0.2%, other nationalities – 4.3%. Considering the poor population, local authorities try to develop certain programs meant to attract the Filo-Russians from the regions belonging to the former Soviet Union, historically linked to the mentality, cultural perceptions, which fit to the economy and local traditions. The Amur region's administration has elaborated a target regional project program meant to assist the voluntary immigration of the Russian population living abroad, within the region of Amur. Also, the Chinese migration within the region has become a reality, and in the future, it might become a very important factor for the region's economy, as well¹⁶.

On January 1st 2010, the Jewish Autonomous Region population was of 188,700 inhabitants, this being one of the poorest populated areas of Russia. The Birobidjan – the centre of Jewish Autonomous Region's has a population of 77,250 people. Along with the mass emigration in Israel, USA, Canada, Germany and other countries at the end of the 90's – beginnings of the 2000's, the Jewish population in Birobidjan has been drastically reduced, reaching somewhere about two thousand people.

¹⁴ Paul Dobrescu, *Geopolitica*, p. 201.

¹⁵ www.stats.gov.cn/english/newsandcomingevents/t20110428_402722244.htm (National Bureau of Statistics of China). Accessed in 30.03.2012.

¹⁶ <http://amurstat.gks.ru/digital/region5/default.aspx> (Территориальный орган федеральной службы государственной статистики по Амурской области – Territorial Office of the Federal State Statistics Service in the Amur region). Accessed in 06.04.2012.

The region number 21 localities, the majority of the population living in rural areas. The population's density was in 2010 of 3 people per square kilometer¹⁷.

The land of Khabarovsk covers a 788,600 km² area, the population being of almost 1,401,900 people (2010). Compared to the other regions in Russia, the Khabarovsk Land is the most urbanized one, the urban population share being in 2010 of 80.4%, while the rural one of 19.6%. The city of Khabarovsk holds a population of 577,700 people (2010). The second largest city is Komsomolsk-upon-Amur, its population being of 281,035 people. Out of the rest of the land's five cities, 4 are small and 1 middle. The average density of the population in the region is of about 1.8 people per square kilometer; in the northern and central parts it doesn't go beyond 0.1-0.2 per km², in the south the areas being more populated – 1.6 people per km²¹⁸. The ethnic composition of the region is the following: Russians – 129,264 people (89.82%), Ukrainians – 48,622 people (3.38%), Nanaite people – 10,993 people (0.77%), Tatar – 10,972 people (0.76%), Koreans – 9,519 people (0.66%), Byelorussians – 8,840 people (0.62%), Evenki – 4,533 people (0.32%) Azers – 4,463 people (0.31%), Chinese – 3,815 people, Moldavians – 3,399 people, Germans – 3,166 people, Ulchi – 2,718 people, Armenians – 2,669 people, Nivkts – 2,452 people, Jewish – 2,370 people, Chuvash – 2,225 people, Bashkir – 2,225 people, Yakut – 1,454 people¹⁹.

Social problems in this region include: economy's focus only on two large cities, social-economical polarization in the center and periphery, depopulation of northern areas, aging of the population and a precarious health state, low life expectancy, especially in men²⁰.

The Primorsk land covers an area of 164,700 square kilometers, (0.96% of the Russian Federation territory) and consists of 179 municipalities, out of which 12 urban districts, 22 municipalities and 145 localities (29 urban and 116 rural localities). Primorsk has 22 localities with a population of over 10 thousand people. The largest urban centers are Vladivostok (153,421 people), Nahodka (168,489 people), Ussurisk (153,421 people), Artem (102,445 people). The province population has been in 2010 of 1,988,500 people (1.37% of Russia's population). The urban population share is of 75.4%, while the rural population is of 24.6%. The population's density is of 12.2 people per square kilometer. Compared to the data offered by the

¹⁷ <http://www.eao.ru/?p=782> (Официальный портал органов государственной власти Еврейской автономной области – Official portal of public authorities of the Jewish Autonomous Region). Accessed in 06.04.2012

¹⁸ http://gov.khabkrai.ru/invest2.nsf/General_ru- (Правительство Хабаровского края – Government of Khabarovsk Land. Official site of this institution). Accessed in 05.04.2012.

¹⁹ http://www.demographia.ru/articles_N/index.html?idR=64- (Институт демографических исследований-Institute of Demographic Research – in Russia). Accessed in 05.04.2012.

²⁰ <http://www.zdrav.khv.ru/node/281> (Министерство здравоохранения Хабаровского края – Ministry of Health of the Khabarovsk Land). Accessed in 06.04.2012.

2002 census, the number of people in Primorsk has decreased in 2010 by 83,200 people (4%). Life expectancy for 2010 in the Primorsk Land has been of 65.1 years out of which 59.3 for men and 71.4 for women²¹.

The Land of Primorsk is a multinational region, with a predominance of the Russian population of 89. 9%, Ukrainians representing 4.5% of the populations. The inter-ethnic and inter-religious relations are not very tensional, some minor problems in the relationship with the Chinese people being reported (yet, a negative perception has increased upon the Central Asia immigrants, who are attracted to homes, especially in Vladivostok). The majority of the immigrant workers come from Tadjikistan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaidjan, being hired in the construction field, road works etc. They do not speak the Russian language fluently; they do not know the local regulations and Russian laws. The increase of competition on the manpower market is given by the seasonal workers from the southern countries – China, Vietnam, North Korea and it may therefore raise the risk of restarting some ethnical conflicts.

II. Natural resources of the Russian Federation

The Russian Federation holds one of the most important raw materials in the world: 1/3 of the world's iron reserves, iron ore, carbon – 1/3 of the world's reserves, gold, nickel, chromium, bauxite, asbestos, salts of potassium, uranium, and also holds a high level of electrical power. Russia disposes of the best natural gas reserves in the world, and is among the first countries when it comes to carbon, oil and natural gas reserves²².

Russia's mineral resources. On the Russian territory, up to now, over 20 thousand mineral deposits have been indentified: oil, natural gas, carbon, ferrous metals, non-ferrous metals, rare and precious metals, precious stones, semi-precious stones, different minerals. It is estimated that the Russian Federation holds important shares of the world's reserves, in the following fields: oil 10-12%, natural gas 32%, carbon 11%, iron ores 25%, nickel 33%, lead 10%, zinc 15%, potassium salt 33%, cobalt 21%. Also, Russia is a world leader when it comes to gold, silver, platinum, diamonds and useful fossil materials. The total of estimated mineral reserves of the Russian Federation has been in 2001 28.000 billion dollars. Nevertheless, the greatest part of the Russian mineral deposits are not of best quality, the useful components content being by 35-50% below the world's average. Moreover, some of them are difficult to process because of

²¹ <http://demoscope.ru/weekly/2004/0177/analit06.php>- (Центр демографии и экологии человека Института народнохозяйственного прогнозирования – Center for Demography and Human Ecology, Institute of Economic Forecasting). Accessed in 06.04.2012

²² Stan Petrescu, *Rusia în sistemul global de securitate* [Russia within the global security system], in "GeoPolitica", Bucharest, Top Form Publishing House, no. 16-17, 2006, p. 221.

the distances, transport conditions and severe meteorological conditions, as well. As a result, despite having significant reserves, the degree of industrial transportation of certain minerals is relatively small: bauxite 32%, copper 49%, zinc 16%, tin 42%, molybdenum 31.5%, lead 8.8%, titan 1.3%, mercury 5.9%.²³

Oil and gas. In 2008, Russia had an oil productivity of 488, 5 million tons, representing 12.4% of the world's production, 2nd in the world.²⁴

Most of these resources are concentrated in Eastern Europe and the country's northern area. Areas rich in hydrocarbons are to be found in the sub-marine area of the arctic polar regions of the Russian Federation²⁵.

On the Russian territory, one may find natural gas and oil deposits, in the following regions: Western Siberia, Volga-Urals, the Caspian Sea, Northern Caucasus-Mangyshlak, the Baltic Sea, Anadyr, Eastern Europe, Kamchatka, Enisei-Anabar, Timan-Peciora. Oil and gas deposits cover the entire section of sedimentary rocks, but there are deposits (Usiansk, Vozeyskoe, Zapadno-Tebukskoe) where more than 90% of the reserves are concentrated. In the province of Devonian, 40% of the oil and more than 50% of the state's carbon reserves are to be found. Gas and oil reserves have been also discovered in Perm, Kirov, Ulyanovsk, Samara, Orenburg, Saratov as well as in the Volgograd, Tataria, Bashkir regions and the Udmurt Republic. The largest oil fields are the following: Romashkinskoye, Arlan Bavly, Muhanovskoe, Ishimbai. Another area which disposes of oil and natural gas is the region of the North Caucasus, which extends all along the Caucasus, from the Azov Sea up to the Caspian Sea. Maikop is another area rich in natural gas, where the Groznyi and Anastasievskoe fields dispose of one third of the oil and natural gas resources. Industrial accumulations of gas are attested in the Ust-Enisei basin. Adynar is a region situated in the south-eastern part of the Ciukotka Autonomous Republic, where, in a similar way, significant oil resources are deposited. Kamchatka is as well a region rich in natural gas and oil. According to British Petroleum, in 2003, the petrol reserves from Russia were representing 60 billion barrels, estimated at the consumption level for a 22 year period²⁶.

Russia was the main natural gas producer in 2008, having a production of 601.7 billion cubic meters, representing almost 19.6% of the world's production and having reserves of 43,300 billion cubic meters²⁷.

²³ [http://tpu.ru/Томский политехнический университет](http://tpu.ru/Томский_политехнический_университет) (Technical University of Tomsk, website). Accessed in 20.05.2012.

²⁴ Silviu Neguț (Coordinator) et al., *Geografie economică mondială* [World Economic Geography], Bucharest, Meteor Press Publishing House, 2009, p. 52.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

²⁶ [http://tpu.ru/Томский политехнический университет](http://tpu.ru/Томский_политехнический_университет). Accessed in 20.05.2012.

²⁷ Silviu Neguț (Coordinator) et al., *Geografie economică mondială*, p. 69.

On the Russian territory, the natural gas extraction areas are to be found in the Volga-Ural region, in the Orenburg city area and in the Saratov city area. Another region is Tiumen- Ukhta-Peciora and on the sub-marine platform of the Kara sea. The natural gas deposits are to be found also in the north-western area of Caucasus, in the Stavropol plateau and in the Astrahan area²⁸.

The gas reserves of Russia are to be found, as follows: Volga – 5.9%, Urals – 2.3%, North Caucasus – 0.6%, Western Siberia – 77.5%. The greatest gas fields are in the Yamburgskoe, Urengoy regions²⁹, Hydrocarbons can be found in Russia in the Volga-Ural areas (exploitations being performed in Romashkino, Zainsk, Neftekamsk as well as in Kuibyşev and Volgograd and also Tengiz), Western Siberia (the Tiumeni land, the inferior course of the Obi river, up to Arctica in the continental plateau of the Kara)³⁰.

Gazprom is the largest energetic company of the world, holding the biggest natural gas reserves, estimated at 33.1 billion cubic meters, and oil reserves of almost 62.7 billion tons. Gazprom holds 15% of the world's production of methane gas. The Gazprom Group is an important player in Central Asia as well, acquiring in 2010 37.8 billion cubic meters in this area. Gazprom also holds the largest natural gas transport system in the world, of about 161,700 km³¹.

In 2010, the Rosneft Company has exploitations of 40.5 billion oil barrels, and 1.7 thousands of billion cubic meters of gas, this without introducing the arctic area deposits aquired only in 2010. The main exploitation fields are in Eastern Siberia, Far Orient and the arctic seas. The company performs explorations activities also in the traditional regions, such as: Western Siberia, the Volga region, the Tiumeni-Peciora region, the southern part of the European Russia and is involved in exploration projects in countries such as: Algeria, Venezuela and the United Arabian Emirates³². The company exploits hydrocarbons within the fields Sahalin 1, Sahalin 3, Sahalin 5. The Rosneft Company ensures more than 20% of the oil production in the Russian Federation. In 2009, Rosneft started out the largest exploitation from Eastern Siberia to Vankor, a project which is among the first 10 in the world. The company also holds processing plants in the Far Orient, as well as a refinery at Tianjin in China. Also, Rosneft has aquired shares at four refineries in Germany, thus increasing its capacity of processing by 20%. In 2011, the company discovered new deposits in the Baykalovsky area from the region of Krasnoiarsk and the Buzerovski area in the region of Samara. In 2011, Rosneft signed a strategic partnership with Exxon Mobil

²⁸ Bebe Negoiescu, Gheorghe Vlăsceanu, *Geografie economică. Resursele Terrei* [Economic geography. Earth's resources], Meteor Press Publishing House, Bucharest, 2003, p. 146.

²⁹ <http://tpu.ru/> Томский политехнический университет. Accessed in 20.05.2012

³⁰ Bebe Negoiescu, Gheorghe Vlăsceanu, *Geografie economică. Resursele Terrei*, p. 118.

³¹ <http://www.gazprom.ru/about/production/>, Gazprom website. Accessed in 20.05.2012.

³² <http://www.rosneft.ru/about/history/> (Rosneft website). Accessed in 05.05.2012.

for joint exploitations in the Kara Sea and the Black Sea, as well as a scientific project of exploration of the arctic area. The Rosneft Company performs an annual natural gas production of 55 billion cubic meters³³.

In 2008, Russia held 6.3% of the world's refinement capacity³⁴. Russia holds the second place in the world regarding the refinement capacities, with a volume of 6.5 million barrels per day. Refineries can be found in the North Caucasus area of Grozny, one of the largest refineries at Ufa, in the Samara region, at Isimbai, Saratov, and Kuibyshev, in the Volga region at Volgograd and in the Emba region at Guriev. Other refineries are places on the main pipelines route: Gorki, Riazan (on the Volga-Ural- Moscova route), Krasnoiarsk, Angarsk, Omsk, Habarovsk, Vladivostok (along the Siberian pipelines)³⁵.

In order to become a true superpower, Russia has to follow a smart politics towards the energetical resources of the Caspian Sea.

The Caspian Sea, with a surface of 370 thousand square kilometers, is the vastest of the world's closed seas, forming natural frontiers between Transcaucasia, Northern Russia, the Asian central steppe, and the Iran plateau. The Caspian Sea has a length of 1200 kilometers, on the north-south axe and an average width of 300 kilometers on the east-west axe. In its narrowest part, between the shores of Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan, it has 200 kilometers, while in the wider part it has 500 kilometers. The Caspian hydrographic basin is of over 3,6 million square kilometers, its main water supply sources being the Volga River in Europe, Kura in Transcaucasia, Ural in Russia, Embay in Kazakhstan, Terek in Turkmenistan and Sofial in Iran. The Caspian Sea is under ocean level at a -28.5 quota. The Caspian Sea's basin shelters the third oil deposit of the world, following the one in the Persian Gulf and Siberia (oil reserves discovered – of 40 billion barrels in the continental plateau and the Caspian Sea's adjacent area, plus reserves estimated to be at a level of 100-200 billion barrels). As for the natural gas identified in the region, 7 trillion cubic meters and 20-22 trillion cubic meters reserves are found. The Caspian region holds, according to the British Petroleum concern, 19.700 million tons of oil reserves, out of which 12,000 in Iran, 6,600 in Russia and 700 in Kazakhstan. As for the natural gas, the same source credits the regions with reserves of 68,610 million tons oil equivalent, out of which Russia – 43,000 million tons, Iran 21,000 million tons and in Turkmenistan 2,600 million tons³⁶.

³³ <http://www.rosneft.ru/Upstream/Exploration/>. Accessed in 05.05.2012.

³⁴ Silviu Neguț (Coordinator) et al., *Geografie economică mondială*, p. 63.

³⁵ Bebe Negoiescu, Gheorghe Vlăsceanu, *Geografie economică. Resursele Terrei*, p. 36.

³⁶ Victor Ionescu, *Caspica – ambientul geopolitic și geostrategic* [Caspica – geopolitical and geostrategical ambient], in „GeoPolitica”, Top Form Publishing House, Bucharest, no.16-17, 2006, p. 61.

Around these tremendous resources, there are three concentric state circles, which are involved in the fight for their controlling: 1. The producer states from the ex-USSR space -Russia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan. 2. States through which one may achieve the transit for oil and gas: Russia, Iran and Turkey. 3. The energy consumer states: USA, EU and China.³⁷ For Russia, the Caspian game is both economic and strategic, having the fear that the western powers might not interfere in its influence area. Russia is also determined in controlling the Caspian resources export means, in order to control its ISC associates and make political pressures over the European states.³⁸

The carbon reserves. In 2008 Russia had carbon reserves estimated to be of 157 billions tons, exploiting the same year 327 million tons³⁹. In Russia, out of the carbon production total, 80-85% is being used in the electric power stations, for the production of coke and for the domestic use, while 15-20% is being exported⁴⁰.

The Moscow's carbon basin holds 10% of the country's production total and contains only energetic carbon. It is a very important area, being located in the proximity of the Moscow industrial area, which is a very large energy consumer. The Peciora basin, situated in the northern side of the Russian Federation's European part, within the Peciora arctic river area, feeds the Sankt Petersburg industrial area with carbon, and here one may find mainly coking carbon. In the Asian part of Russia 90% from the carbon reserves are concentrated, the largest basin being Kuznetsk, situated within the basin of the Obi River, on his tributary river Tomi. The carbon basin holds 200 layers with all sorts of carbons. By using the carbon from here and the iron ore reserves from nearby, the big metallurgical complex from the south part of the Western Siberia has developed. Other carbon basins from the Asian part of Russia are: Minusinsk, in the Enisei upper basin, Ceremhovo in the western part of the Baikal Lake, Tunguska, in the central-siberian area, the one on the middle course of the Lena River. In the northern extreme of Russia, one can find the young basins from Tamar, Indighirka and Kolyma, while in the Far Orient we can find the Burea, Sucean basins as well as those located in the island of Sakhalin⁴¹.

Russia holds the largest reserves of peat in the world, evaluated at 150 billions of tons, located in the northern part of the European area, in the western and eastern Siberia⁴².

In the areas affected by the Mesozoic orogenesis we can find rich carbon deposits, among which – those in Siberia, the Lena basins and the Transbaikalia ones⁴³. Russia holds 49.1 billion tons of coal, 107, 9 billion tons of lignite⁴⁴.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

³⁹ Silviu Neguț (Coordinator) et al., *Geografie economică mondială*, p. 38.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 41.

Iron ores reserves. Russia occupies the first rank in the world at the general iron ore reserves and has proved it by producing 264 billion tons. The iron ore in Russia differs depending on depth, has an iron content of 16-32%, and is described by high resistance and a complex mineral composition. The iron ore deposits are situated in the European area of the country. The largest deposit in the Russian Federation is one of the largest in the world, i.e. the Kursk magnetic anomaly. From all the iron ore reserves found in Russia, the peak is reached here, especially since more than 16% of the ore may be used without enrichment. The magmatic deposits (titan-magnetite and limonite titanomagnetite) are known in Karelia (Pudzhorsk), Ural, the Altai Mountains (Harlovsk), Sayan, Transbaikalia (Kruchinsk), the Carbonatite deposits – titanomagnetite and apatite-magnetite combinations, deposits of the Baltic shield (Afrikanda, Kovdor) and the Siberian Platform (Gulinsk). The continental deposits of Hydro-goethite – lacertian –Marsh from Jurassic are explored by a big number of small enterprises in the European (Tula, Lipetsk and other areas). The ores are described by low iron content 30-40%). The Metamorphogenic deposits of Precambrian ferruginous quartzites, appear in the regions centered on the Kola and Karelia Peninsulas (Olenegorsk Kirovogirskoe, Kostomuksha, etc., in the Mihailovsk platform, Lebedinskoe, Stoilensk, etc.), on the Southern Ural (Taratashskoe, Zizany-Komarovskoe – iron deposits), Tuva (Mugurskoe), in Yakutia (Aldan – iron ore), in the Baikal-Amur Artery (the Chara-Tokkinsk fields group), the Far Orient (Ussuri and the Malohingansk fields group). The largest deposits of this type appear in sedimentary form, and partially metamorphosed sediment within volcanic rocks. The ferruginous quartzites containing 32-37% iron are low in phosphorus and sulfur, while the ore is mainly composed of magnetite and hematite. The formation of ferruginous quartzites is the most representative, the ore crust being rich and containing 70% Fe, with a small part of sulfur and phosphorus⁴⁵. In the Ural mountain region, one may find iron deposits, copper, molybdenum, nickel, gold, silver, platinum⁴⁶.

The Moscow and Sankt Petersburg are known for the production of special steels obtained through the electric siderurgy, the iron ores being brought from Karelia, the Kola, peninsula, the Lipetsk basins and Kursk-Belgorod. Another area is the Ural, with centers such as Magnitogorsk, Celeabinsk, Ekaterinburg. The Siberian siderurgy is developed in the Novokuznetsk, Novosibirsk, Kemerovo and the Taished areas⁴⁷. In 2008, Russia was ranked the 5th world producer of iron ore

⁴³ Bebe Negoiescu, Gheorghe Vlăsceanu, *Geografie economică. Resursele Terrei*, p. 36.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁴⁵ <http://tpu.ru/> Томский политехнический университет. Accessed in 20.05.2012.

⁴⁶ Bebe Negoiescu, Gheorghe Vlăsceanu, *Geografie economică. Resursele Terrei*, p. 36.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

with a production of 110 millions of tons⁴⁸. In 2008, Russia occupied the fourth place in the world at the production of steel, with 74 billions of tons, representing 5.4% of the world production⁴⁹. In the same year, Russia occupied the 3rd place at the cast iron and ferroalloys production, with 52 million tons, representing 5.4% of the world production⁵⁰.

The manganese ores reserves. The manganese ore deposits of the Russian Federation territory are numerous, yet small, mainly the carbonate type. The state has exploited almost 150 million tons – 2.7% of the world's production total (2002). The largest of them is in Ural – Yurkinsk, Catherine, Berezovski and others (carbonate ore), Novoberezovskoe – oxide ore. The northern Ural basin ore is described by a manganese content of almost 21%. In the western part of the Ural, the sediment platform from Magnitogorsk is associated with numerous small deposits of oxidized manganese ores.

There are smaller deposits of manganese in: Enisei, Salair, Angarsk, on the Baikal Lake coast, northern Caucasus (Labinsk). In Russia, the dominant carbonate ore type is contained by more than 90% of the Russian reserves. Also, deposits are to be found in Tininsk (the Sverdlovsk region), Gromovsk (the Cita region), and deposits with proven and estimated reserves in Parnoksk (Komi republic) Marsyatsk, Ivdelsk, Berezovsk, Noviy Berezovsk, Iujniy Berezovsk (the Sverdlovsk region), Usinsk (the Kemerovo region), Nicolaev (the Irkutsk) region. Most of the proven reserves of Russia (80%) are focused in the Usinsk deposit, situated in the region of Kemerovo. The total capacity of the ore area is larger than 150 meters from the surface, the oxidized is found at a depth of 30 up to 75 meters, while the proven reserves are of 79.69 million tons of ore with an average manganese content of 19,4%. The carbonate ores are diverse, some of them being rich in phosphorus and iron while the manganese obtained is from 12-14% up to 20%⁵¹.

The titanium ores reserves. In Russia, these are divided into two indigenous – groups and placer. There are ores in the southern Ural (Kopansk, Medvedev, Malkalsk). The same ores are to be found also in Pudozhgirscoe (Karelia), Kruchininsk (Transbaikalia). The metamorphic deposits are known in the ancient crystalline schists from Kuznechihinsk and Shubinsk from the southern part of the Ural. The bases of titanium mineral resources are the Placer deposits in Russia. Significant reserves are concentrated in the apatite deposits from Khibin⁵².

⁴⁸ Silviu Neguț (Coordinator), *Geografie economică mondială*, p. 97.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.105.

⁵¹ <http://tpu.ru/> Томский политехнический университет. Accessed in 20.05.2012.

⁵² *Ibid.*

The chrome reserves. Important reserves of chrome are to be found in the Saranivsk, basin, the Gabbro massive. In the Ural also known are the Kliuchevsk territory deposits, with the shape of dunite-harzburgite rocks⁵³.

The vanadium reserves. Vanadium is exported on a large scale under the shape of gabbropyroxenite-dunite rocks, in the process of formation. There are also small vanadium deposits in the Caspian Sea areas, of the Kurile Islands and the Volga-Ural islands⁵⁴.

The aluminum reserves. In 2008, Russia has been ranked no. 2 at the aluminum production, with 4,200 thousand tons, representing 10.6% of the world's total⁵⁵.

The Russian federation disposes of important bauxite, nepheline resources, as well as other types of primary aluminum. The bauxite resources are explored in the northern Ural, Southern Ural and Western Siberia. Residual deposits may be found in the Belgorod and Timan regions. Nepheline deposits are in Kiya Shaltirsk, Kuznetsk and Alatau. Potassium raw material can be found in Transbaikalia. In Russia there is an acute lack of primary aluminum, because of the great lack of quality bauxite, and reasonable perspectives as to their findings. The most promising source of this material is in Serednetimansk (200 million tons), the north-western part of the Komi republic, Vorikvinsk (150 million tons), Verhneschugirsk (66 million tons). These deposits are situated in uninhabited areas, their extraction having been opened at the end of the '70's⁵⁶.

The nickel and cobalt reserves. Russia holds the first place in the world in nickel reserves. It has 6,600 tons of nickel reserves (13.2%). The main sources of nickel and cobalt are the magmatic ore deposits situated in Norilsk, from the region of Krasnoyarsk and Kola. The ore organisms are disposed in lenticular strips or veins up to 50 m. The sulfur ores from these deposits are complex: they contain copper, cobalt, nickel, platinum. Nickel and cobalt deposits are known in Ural (Seorv, Cheremshansk, Sinarsk, Lipovsk, Buruktalsk). Russia is among the first five states, holders of copper reserves⁵⁷. In 2006, Russia occupied the 5th place in the world regarding the refined copper production, with 870 thousand tons, representing 5.6% of the world's total. Russia occupies place 6 in the world at the copper ore production, with 750 thousand tons in 2008⁵⁸.

Tin reserves. When it comes to the tin reserves, Russia holds one of the first ranks in the world, that is, it is situated on the 6th place, holding 7.6% of the world's total. The Placer deposits' reserves hold less than 14%. Almost 95% of the Russian

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Silviu Neguț (Coordinator) et al., *Geografie economică mondială*, p. 120.

⁵⁶ <http://tpu.ru/> Томский политехнический университет. Accessed in 20.05.2012

⁵⁷ Bebe Negoiescu, Gheorghe Vlăsceanu, *Geografie economică. Resursele Terrei*, p. 205.

⁵⁸ Silviu Neguț (Coordinator) et al., *Geografie economică mondială*, p. 117.

explored reserves are concentrated in the Far East region, 41% in Yakutia, 20% in Habarovsk and Magadan, while 13% in the Primorsk region. The leader role in the industrial extraction is ensured by the primary deposits of chlorite and tourmaline. The largest tin deposits are known in Yakutia (Tashca, Burgochansk, Kestersk), Chukotka (Iultinsk, Valkumeysk, Pirkakaysk), in the Habarovsk region (Perevalnoe Komsomolsk), the Primorsk region (Crystal, Arseniev, Levitsky, Dubrovski), Transbaikalia (Hapcheranginsk, Sherlovaya, Etikinsk), Karelia (Kitelsk)⁵⁹.

Polymetal reserves. In Russia, the zinc total reserves are up to 2.7 million tons. Almost 82% of the stock is found in the Ural and eastern Siberia regions, other 18% are within the western Siberia, Far East and north Caucasus regions (Sadonsk, Zgidsk, Arhonsk, Elbrus). The largest zinc deposits in Russia are found at Holodninsk, Lakeside, Korbalihinsk, Uzelginsk, Uchalinsk and Nikolaev⁶⁰.

Uranium reserves. In 2006, Russia was ranked 5 at the production of uranium, with 3,262 tons, representing 8.1% of the world's total⁶¹. Within the Russian federation authorities' records for 2002, 54 uranium deposit stocks are included. Out of these, only 16 are mentioned with a global estimation balance of 180 tons. The largest part of these reserves is concentrated in 15 ore deposits from the regions of Streltsovsky in Transbaikalia. These deposits' reserves, reported to the production level, may take 15-20 years. In another document of the state balance of the Russian Federation, the uranium deposit from Dalmatovsk is appropriate for the developing of the leaching methods, the reserves are limited and will allow the extraction for 20 years, and will produce 500 tons of uranium per year⁶².

Gold reserves. The gold reserves held by the Russian Federation occupy the fourth place in the world. Russia has five large deposits, has explored more than 200 indigenous deposits, and 114 gold complex deposits. The largest part of the gold reserves balance is concentrated in the eastern Siberia. In Russia, there are gold ore deposits of different genetic types, in Siberia (Olhovsk). The most frequent clean gold-sulfur include the regions Berezovsk (Ural), Darasunsk (Transbaikalia). Russia holds large gold lands, the main exploitations being concentrated in five regions: two of them are on the upper course of the Lena River, while the other three are in Amur's middle basin, in western Siberia, in Eastern Siberia and north of Lake Aral⁶³. In 2008, Russia was ranked two in the world, regarding the platinum production (25 tons), representing 12.5% of the world's production⁶⁴.

⁵⁹ <http://tpu.ru/> Томский политехнический университет. Accessed in 20.05.2012

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Silviu Neguț (Coordinator) et al., *Geografie economică mondială*, p. 130.

⁶² <http://tpu.ru/> Томский политехнический университет. Accessed in 20.05.2012

⁶³ Silviu Neguț (Coordinator) et al., *Geografie economică mondială*, p. 126.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

Silver reserves. Russia occupies the first place in the world's silver reserves, the main (73%) are concentrated on the complex ore fields, non-ferrous metals and gold. Among the most complex silver deposits (23.2% of these reserves) are described by a mixture of copper-sulfur (Uzelskoe, Podolsk-Ural), in the zinc and plumb deposits – they can be found in Gorevsk, lake Kholodninsk, Provskoie, Vozdvyshe, and in the region of Cita, Rubtsovsk, Korbalinsk and Altai, while in the deposits of copper-nickel, copper-sulphur, they are found in Otcabîrsk, Talnakh and Udokan. The main silver ore reserve (98%) is in Okotsk-Chukchi and the Eastern part of Sikhote-Alin, the volcanic belt⁶⁵.

Antimony reserves. With the antimony stocks, Russia is the first among the CSI Countries. Antimony is located in the main *vein*, the Eniseysk hydrothermal deposits type (Razdolninsk and Udereysk), Yakutia (Sarilah, Sentachanskî)⁶⁶.

Non-metallic industrial raw material reserves. The Russian Federation's subsoil is rich in certain types of raw materials (asbestos, graphite, mica etc.). The asbestos deposits are represented by certain genetic and mineral types, but it is the chrysotile asbestos which is found in much quantity. The largest deposits belong to the regions of Bazenovskoye of Krasnouralsk from Ural, Kiembaysk in the south area of the Ural, Aktovraskoe, Sayan, Ilchirskoe and Molodiojnoe from Transbaikalia. The graphite deposits are known in the eastern Ural, Siberia, and the Far East. The majority of them are metamorphic (in taiga, the Ural Mountains, eastern Siberia and the Far East). The Botogolskoe deposit within the eastern Sayan Mountains is of nepheline-magma type. The largest crystalline ores deposits are found in the Urals, in the taiga in the Irkutsk region and with amorphous structure in the Krasnoyarsk region⁶⁷.

Diamond resources. In Russia, the first diamond has been discovered in the region of Perm. In Siberia, the first diamond was found in 1897 (Enisei), its dimension being of 2/3 karats. Another diamond has been discovered in Siberia in 1948. There are endogenous deposits. *Diamondiferos* is to be found in the Yacutia province. The endogenous deposits of the Siberian platform contain kimberlites ores, spread in an alluvial way (the main source of diamond exploitation is left to the intermediaries), while the Ural and Yakutia deposits are best known. One of the largest world industrial diamond deposits is found in Popigai⁶⁸.

Non-metallic construction materials. Non-metallic construction materials are the sand and rock ores deposits, materials used in certain constructions. There are almost 100 types of mineral raw materials. The industrial deposits are associated with alluvial, marine, glacial, wind (sand) deposits. In the state records almost 8,500

⁶⁵ <http://tpu.ru/> Томский политехнический университет. Accessed in 20.05.2012

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

deposits appear out of which 80% appear as brick, tile, clay materials, chalk raw material and construction materials. The largest deposits are Sichevskoe, operated in the Moscow areas (the 162.9 million cubic meters deposits), Kirsinskoe in Kirov (124,800,000 cubic meters) and Vyazemskoye from Smolensk (104,500,000 cubic meters). The most sand and rock deposits are limited at the alluvial deposits. As covering material, the granite along with the grano-diorites, senates, gneiss-granites, basalts, andesitic, are being used. The Russian Federation's depths contain large quantities of raw material for cement⁶⁹.

Hydroenergetic resources. Russia disposes of large hydro-energetic resources, over 80% of them being situated in the Asian part. With Volga being the largest European River with 3688 km and its tributary Kama, of 2032 km, they have been the subject of certain complex adjustments, achieved mainly in the 13 Hydro Power Stations with a final power of over 13,500 MW. Hydrographic improvements have been made also on the big Siberian Rivers: Obi, Enisei, Angara, Lena, Amur⁷⁰. In 2006, Russia was producing electric power in nuclear power stations of almost 5.6 % of the world's production that is 156 billions of KWh⁷¹.

In 2007, Russia occupied rank 4 in the world, among the electric power producers with a range of 5.3% of the world's production.⁷² Russia currently holds the 4th place among the countries with nuclear power installed in 2006⁷³.

Forestry fund. Russia holds 8513 thousand square kilometers of forests (22% of those existent on the planet)⁷⁴.

Fisheries. In 2007 Russia was ranked 10 worldwide, at the amount of fish caught, with 3.4 million tons⁷⁵.

Wheat production. In 2007 Russia was ranked the 4th in the world at wheat production with 49.4 million tons, that is 8.1% of the world's production.⁷⁶

Conclusions

It is obvious that, geopolitically thinking, Russia has great difficulties when it comes to demography, because of the decrease of birth rate, to the poor demographic density, low life expectancy and its population's precarious general health state. All the same, Russia is nowadays the richest country in the world.

⁶⁹ <http://tpu.ru/> Томский политехнический университет. Accessed in 20.05.2012.

⁷⁰ Bebe Negoiescu, Gheorghe Vlăsceanu, *Geografie economică. Resursele Terrei*, p.175.

⁷¹ Silviu Neguț (Coordinator) et al., *Geografie economică mondială*, p. 81.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.165.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

The American geostrategist Zbigniew Brezinski said that a state, in order to reach the status of world super-power must have to get the following in four decisive fields: from the military point of view have an unmatched world extension; from the economical point of view to be a rich state, from the technological point of view to hold the first place in at least some of the innovation's peak branches; from the cultural point of view to dominate a great part of the world by its attraction.

Thus analyzing Russia's situation one may observe that, from the military point of view it cannot control the oceans and the seas of the world, neither does it holds advanced military bases, or in key positions, even though it holds sufficiently developed conventional forces and nuclear arsenal. From the economical point of view Russia hasn't been and is not a super-power, the Russian State being on its way to upgrade its economical infrastructure. Instead, it has become an energetic superpower of the world, even if it does not have a high productivity economy, which would confirm and sustain its geopolitical options. From the technological point of view, Russia has appropriate capabilities, holds technologies necessary to the exploration of the cosmic space and production of sophisticated weapons, but still, it doesn't succeed in dominating any of the world economy peak sectors. From the cultural point of view, Russia performs an attraction degree only for the Russian minorities in the ex-soviet space, its cultural influence into the world being currently limited. Contemporary Russia is no longer a super-power, even though it holds a major role in the energetic and natural resources field both in Europe and Asia.⁷⁷

Currently, Russia hasn't been able to ensure itself a status of super-power, compared to that of the USA, because of some main reasons: from the military point of view, it is unable to control the oceans of the world, although it holds some reasonable naval capacities; also, it cannot control the Euro-Asian continental area, though it holds terrestrial forces, at a high level of quality and quantity, as well as the fact that it does not hold advanced military bases or disposed in key positions, which would allow it to issue claims. Russia holds well developed nuclear arsenals, and cosmic technology, significant airline capacities and a very well trained reaction force⁷⁸. The Moscow's decisional factors have not give up on their traditional policy of territorial extension and trying to regain the universal, world dominant power status⁷⁹.

The field in which Russia is truly a super-power is the energetic one, the

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

⁷⁸ Ionuț Constantin, *Evoluții Geopolitice în Asia Centrală: Politica României față de statele din regiune (1991-2007)* [Geopolitical evolutions in Central Asia: Romania's policy towards the region states], Bucharest, Top Form: Univers Științific Publishing House, 2011, p. 77.

⁷⁹ Radu Ștefan Vergatti, *Puncte de vedere asupra geopoliticii ruse* [Points of view over the Russian geopolitics], in „GeoPolitica”, Bucharest, Top Form Publishing House, no. 24 , 2007, p.153.

paradox being that in spite of this potential, the Russian economy is not as developed as to be helped in the fight for the Euro-Asian and world supremacy⁸⁰.

Russia will continue to be, for a certain 10-15 years amount of time, a major world actor on the energetic market. Because of the existence of a protection system from the part of the state, the monopoly type, there are no appropriate programs of re-technology or development of the hydrocarbons production, and there have also been cases of not respecting some agreements with international companies. Russia still depends economically on the income obtained from the oil and natural gas exports⁸¹. The Russian authorities have taken over the control of the energetic sectors and are willing to attract foreign investors, given the situation. Hydrocarbons represent 20% of the GDP and 40% of the budget casings⁸².

Currently, the external policy of the Russian Federation is being built on three development directions:

- a. Russia will play the role of the world supplier of energy and energetic power.
- b. Advanced cooperation between the Russian Federation and EU, with the development of some special relations with France and Germany.
- c. Reconciliation of Russia with the West, as a basis of the external policy pragmatism, Russia being determined to protect its interests in a firm manner, without reaching a confrontation, using mainly the Euro-Asians paradigm in the detriment of the euro-Atlantic one⁸³.

We consider that Russia could become a real super-power in the next two decades if it will solve its demographical problems and will build a Western-style army and economy, based on its huge economic resources.

⁸⁰ Ionuț Constantin, *Evoluții Geopolitice în Asia Centrală: Politica României față de statele din regiune (1991-2007)*, p. 77.

⁸¹ Dragoș Bănescu, *Politica energetică a Rusiei* [Russia's energetical policy], in „GeoPolitica”, Bucharest, Top Form Publishing House, no. 24, 2007, p. 81.

⁸² Stan Petrescu, *Federația Rusă între revenirea la statutul de superputere și pragmatism* [The Russian Federation between regaining the super-power status and pragmatism], in „GeoPolitica”, Top Form Publishing House, Bucharest, no. 24, 2007, p. 35.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

REFLECTIONS ON DIVORCE IN BESSARABIA IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: THE ADULTERY

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Rezumat: *Articolul se referă la un subiect insuficient tratat în istoriografie, ce ține de istoria familiei – divorțul. Bazat pe exemple concrete din Basarabia primei jumătăți a secolului al XIX-lea, demersul științific al autorului prezintă realitatea cotidiană în problema divorțului legat de adulter și modul în care canoanele bisericii au fost respectate. Ca surse de cercetare au fost utilizate preponderent documente din fondurile Arhivei de Stat a Republicii Moldova, care indică diverse cazuri de inițiere a proceselor de divorț de către reprezentanți ai diferitelor clase sociale: nobili, orașeni, țărani, soldați etc.*

Abstract: *The article covers a topic related to family history - divorce, insufficiently treated in historiography. In this study based on concrete examples from Bessarabia, it will be presented the daily reality in the problem of divorce granted for adultery and how the canons of the church were respected in the first half of the nineteenth century. As sources of research were used documents from the funds of the State Archives of Republic of Moldova, showing the fact of initiation of divorce processes by representatives of different social classes: nobles, townspeople, peasants, soldiers etc.*

Résumé: *L'article ci-joint fait référence seulement a une séquence abordée par les sources d'archive: le divorce, sujet insuffisamment recherché dans l'historiographie. L'article, basé sur des exemples concrets de la Bessarabie dans la première moitié du XIXe siècle, présente la réalité quotidienne dans le problème de divorce prononcé pour cause d'adultère, la façon dont les chanoines de l'église ont été respectés. La recherche est basée sur des documents provenant des fonds de l'Archive d'Etat de la République de Moldavie. Le divorce a été initié par les représentants de différentes classes sociales: les nobles, bourgeois, paysans etc.*

Keywords: *family, divorce, adultery, Bessarabia, Hexabiblos of Armenopulos, Russian Empire.*

The family problems and the institution of marriage in today's society are more frequent and discussed. Divorce ranks among them one of the most relevant aspects. The demographic statistics showed that across Europe the number of marriages decreased and divorces increased. In the family history this phenomenon is observed in according to the society development and it is studied by historians, lawyers,

demographers, economists, etc., as a component of family law, demographic development etc.

The analysis of divorce in the nineteenth-century is difficult and controversial, because it shows the mentality of the times. It influenced the subsequent position of the former couple, especially the position of the woman in society, and was having also an influence on children, tearing apart a common household etc.

The divorce in Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania until the twentieth century was examined in papers, studies and books signed by Violeta Barbu, Sarolta Solcan, Constanța Ghițulescu, Maria Magdalena Szekely, Lilia Zabolotnaia, Ioan Bolovan, Sorina Paula Bolovan, Mircea Brie etc., which present the divorce phenomenon in the context of family life or in terms of the position of the woman in couple's life¹. However, until present, there is no work concerning the divorce in Bessarabia, as a part of the Russian Empire.

¹ Violeta Barbu, „*Ceea ce Dumnezeu a unit, omul să nu dispartă*”. *Studii asupra divorțului în Țara Românească în perioada 1780-1850* [“What God has joined together, let not man separate”. Studies about divorce in Wallachia in the period 1780-1850], in „*Revista de Istorie*”, 1992, III, 11-12, p. 1143-1155; Sorina Bolovan, Ioan Bolovan, *Contribuții privind divorțialitatea în Transilvania la sfârșitul secolului XIX și începutul secolului XX* [Contributions regarding divorce in Transylvania in the late XIX and early XX century], in C. Padureanu (coord.), *Studii de demografie istorică (secolele XVII – XXI)* [Historical demography studies (XVII – XXI centuries)], Arad, 2010, p. 99-114; Mircea Brie, *Divorțul ca formă de erodare a familiei în comitatele Bihor și Sătmar (a doua jumătate a secolului XIX)* [Divorce as a form of erosion of the family in the counties of Bihor and Satmar (the second half of the XIX century)], in *Studii de demografie istorică...*, p. 77-98; Eugen Ghiță, *Două cazuri de divorț în orașul Arad în secolul al XVIII-lea* [Two cases of divorce in Arad in the XVIII century], in *Studii de demografie...*, p. 63-68; Constanța Ghițulescu, *Familie și societate în Țara Românească (secolul al XVII-lea)* [Family and Society in the Romanian Country (XVII century)], in „*Studii și Materiale de Istorie Medie*”, vol. XX, 2002, p.110-113; Constanța Ghițulescu, *În șalvari și cu ișlic. Biserică, sexualitate, căsătorie și divorț în Țările Românești ale secolului al XVIII-lea* [In salwars and ishlik. Church, sexuality, marriage and divorce in the Romanian Countries of the XVIII century], București, 2004; Șarolta Solcan, *Divorțul în Transilvania la sfârșitul secolului al XVII-lea și în primele decenii ale secolului al XVIII-lea* [Divorce in Transylvania in the late XVII century and first decades of the XVIII century], in *Studii de demografie...*, p. 17-22; M. M. Székely, *Structuri de familie în societatea medievală moldovenească* [Family structures in the Medieval Moldavian society], in „*Arhiva Genealogică*”, IV (IX), nr. 1-2, Iași, 1997, p. 59-119; Lilia Zabolotnaia, *Statutul social și situația juridică a femeilor în procesul de divorț în țările românești (secolul al XVII-lea)* [Social status and legal status of women in divorce in the Romanian Countries (XVII century)], in *Studii de demografie istorică...*, p. 23-38; Lilia Zabolotnaia, *Femeia în relațiile de familie din Țara Moldovei în contextul european până la începutul sec. al XVIII-lea (Căsătorie, logodnă, divorț)* [Women in family relations in Moldova in European context of the early XVIII century. (marriage, engagement, divorce)], Chișinău, 2011.

The Orthodox Church's view on divorce

According to Christianity, after God created Adam, He concluded that "It is not good for the man to be alone..." (Genesis 2, 18) and made Eve. When Adam saw her, he said: "This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man. For this reason a man shall leave his father and his mother, and be joined to his wife and both shall become one flesh" (Genesis 2, 23-24). Thus, canonists asseverate that family unity is created by the power of the Holy Spirit, given through the sacrament of matrimony². At the same time, a marriage which is terminated correctly in terms of state laws, and especially of the church ones, is valid and has a legal character³. A legal marriage can be ended by the death of one or both spouses and by divorce, although the Church does not permit divorce per se⁴. The researchers of the canon law and the historians have noted that Orthodox Church allowed divorce in certain cases, which are similar to death. Therefore, the Holy Books say: "What God has joined together, let not man separate" (Matthew 19, 4-6), and anyone who divorces his wife for a reason other than her adultery and marries again, commits adultery, and who shall marry the divorced woman also commits adultery" (Matthew 5, 32). According to *Biblical Encyclopedia* the right to divorce is given only for violation of conjugal fidelity and in other cases provided by the church. Any divorce granted by frivolous reasons, is considered a sin and can not be allowed⁵.

Adultery falls under the moral grounds for divorce. To note that preceding from religious canons, from the mentality of the society and from customs towards the end of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth-century, the grounds for divorce were classified as: I. Moral - **adultery**, abortion, attempt on husband's life, crime, venereal disease, leaving home, etc.; II. Religious - heresy, holding during the baptism their own child, violation of the rules of the marriage sanction; III. Physical - impotence, incurable disease, infectious disease; IV. Civil - disappearance of a spouse, taking the vow, etc.⁶ This lead us to conclude that the marriage was considered sacred, and ecclesiastical authorities allowed divorce only in particularly serious cases.

Legislation on divorce

In the early nineteenth century, Moldavian laws relating to family were contained in the *Hexabiblos of Armenopulos*, *Calimach Code*, and *Andronache Donici Code*. The *Calimach Code* provides that a couple cannot undo their marriage,

² Nicolae Necula, "Glasul Bisericii" nr. 9-12/2001, p. 119- 120.

³ Nicolae Fuștei, *Creștinismul pe înțelesul tuturor* [Christianity Explained], Chișinău, 2008, p. 284.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.284-285.

⁵ *Библейская энциклопедия* [Bible Encyclopedia], http://slovari.yandex.ru/~книги/Библейская_энциклопедия.

⁶ Nicolae Fuștei, *Creștinismul...*; Mircea Brie, *Divorțul ca formă...*; Sorina Bolovan, Ioan Bolovan, *Contribuții privind divorțialitatea...*

without obtaining the Dicastery⁷ permission, and those who violated its provision would be punished by joining a monastery.⁸

In the early nineteenth century, in Bessarabia, the civil trials were based on local norms of law and custom. According to *Armenopulos*, Title 12, there were general reasons for divorce, ground for husband's divorce detrimental to his wife and vice versa. The encoder mentions that it has listed only those grounds "which are worthy of being noticed and... to recognize in this law, namely those after which the marriage was dissolved without punishment"⁹.

After the annexation of Bessarabia to Russia, the legislation of the empire was also introduced on this territory. While the general issues related to family relationships were included in *Kormchea Kniga* (Кормчая Книга), *Sobornoe Ulojenie* (Соборное Уложение), and *The decrees of the King, of the Council, and of the Senate*¹⁰, some family problems as divorce issue were within the Church's jurisdiction. In nineteenth-century Russia, the marriage was dissolved on the ground of a proven adultery, an inability of premarital cohabitation, absence of a spouse for more than five years, changed vows, or when one spouse was punished by deprivation of all rights or sent to Siberia. The divorce of spouses of different Christian denominations was considered by the judgment confession of the concluded marriage. On February 24, 1832 Nicholas I strengthened the Opinion of the State: "О судебном ведомстве бракоразводных дел между лицами разных христианских исповеданий", that the files were sent to the ecclesiastical court of the Russian Orthodox Church¹¹. *Dictionary of History* claims that if the divorce was initiated by a wife, she could lose the right to provisions assured by her husband, but when the husband filed for divorce, he was obliged to give decent aliments¹².

Adultery in definitions and historiography

Adultery was one of the worst reasons for divorce. It implicated the breach of the marriage sanctity by having extramarital sexual relationship with a married or

⁷ *Codul Calimah* [Calimach Code], București, 1958, p. 101.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁹ *Manualul legilor sau așa numitele cele șase cărți adunat de pretutindeni și prescurtat de vrednicul de cinstire păstrătorul de legi și judecător în Salonic Constantin Harmenopulos* [The manual of laws or so-called six books everywhere gathered and short to honor worthy guardian of law and a judge in Thessaloniki Constantin Harmenopulos], București, 1921, Titlul XII.

¹⁰ А. А. Дорская, *Гражданский развод в Российской империи: историко-правовой аспект* [Civil divorce in the Russian Empire: Historical and legal aspects], in *История государства и права*, 2007, N 6; Елена Белякова, *Брак и развод в России XIX в.* [Marriage and divorce in Russia in the XIX century], in «История» № 15, 2011 http://his.1september.ru/2001/15/no15_01.htm

¹¹ *Полное собрание законов Российской империи* [The complete collection laws of the Russian Empire], 1832 г. Т. 7., СПб., 1833, p. 98-99.

¹² Т.Г. Аркадьева, М.И. Васильева, В.П. Проничев, *Словарь русских историзмов* [Dictionary of Russian historicism], Москва, 2005.

unmarried person, regardless of whether the connection was once or permanent¹³. This fact is mentioned in *Кормчая книга*, which says that divorce is possible “аще жена блуд сотворит”¹⁴.

The definition of adultery was looked out in several encyclopedic works. Thus, in the *Dictionary* of Brockhaus and Efron, “adultery” is defined as carnal infidelity of a married person. In ancient times, when the wife was the property of her husband, adultery was seen as a violation of the husband's rights. In the Roman law, only women were punished for adultery. The canonic law considers the marriage as a sacrament, therefore adultery is considered a sin, and the punishment must be equal for both partners¹⁵. *The Complete Dictionary of Religious Terms* describes adultery as a sexual intercourse out of the wedlock¹⁶. According to the *Biblical Encyclopedia*, compiled by the archbishop Nikephoros, “блудодеяние – adultery” is synonymous with immorality, and it is described as body debauchery and infidelity towards God, which by analogy with marital infidelity, is a cheat and a criminal offense, that insults the love and mercy of God¹⁷. The *Explanatory Dictionary* of Ushakov gives the following definition: “Adultery - fornication, breach of conjugal fidelity of the spouses”¹⁸. The same meaning is given by the *Ojegov's Explanatory Dictionary*, specifying that it is a love affair; the *Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian Language* states precisely that it is an extra marital affair¹⁹. In the *Juridical Dictionary* adultery is regarded as marital infidelity; in some countries it is considered a criminal offense, which violates the family law and the public morality²⁰.

In Romanian historiography, references to adultery were made especially in articles and monographs on the family history, marriage, divorce and women's role in society. Thus the *History of Romanian law* presents adultery or fornication as a part of the offenses against the family, punished with imprisonment in a monastery, by

¹³ Sorina Bolovan, Ioan Bolovan, *Contribuții privind divorțialitatea..*, p. 103; В. В. Быховский, *Брак, раздельное жительство супругов и развод*, Москва, 1912, p. 58.

¹⁴ *Кормчая, напечатанная с оригинала патриарха Иосифа* [Rudder, printed from the original of the Patriarch Joseph], Москва, 1912, p. 1117.

¹⁵ *Энциклопедический словарь Ф.А. Брокгауза и И.А. Ефрона* [Encyclopedic Dictionary of F.A. Brockhaus and I.A. Efron], 1890—1907.

¹⁶ *Полный церковнославянский словарь (с внесением в него важнейших древнерусских слов и выражений)* [Complete Dictionary of Slavon Church (with the most important ancient Russian words and phrases)], Сост. свящ. Григорий Дьяченко, 1900, <http://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/churchslav/>

¹⁷ *Библия. Ветхий и Новый заветы. Синоидальный перевод. Библейская энциклопедия* [The Bible. Old and New Testaments. Sinoidalny translation. Biblical Encyclopedia]. арх. Никифор, 1891. <http://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/biblerus/68669/>

¹⁸ Д.Н. Ушаков, *Толковый словарь Ушакова* [Ushakov's Explanatory Dictionary], 1935-1940, <http://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/ushakov/968970>

¹⁹ *Толковый словарь Ожегова. С.И. Ожегов, Н.Ю. Шведова. 1949-1992; Большой толковый словарь русского языка* [The Great Explanatory Dictionary of the Russian language], - 1-е изд-е, СПб, Норинт, С. А. Кузнецов, 1998.

²⁰ *Юридический словарь* [Juridical Dictionary], 2000. <http://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/lower/17486>

cutting-off the nose, or hair, beating, and exposing in the public square²¹. Speaking of Moldavia and Wallachia, Lilia Zabolotnaia states that “the laws differentiated adultery from concubinage, the first being a sexual connection between a man and a woman, when one of them or both are married with another person”²². Simultaneously, she concludes that in the Romanian society in the middle of the seventeenth century was harsh and rough to the adultery relations, the laws were clearly stressing that it was a crime against morality and dissolution of the marriage was to follow. In regards to divorce, Mircea Brie emphasizes that the Orthodox Church allows it only “when a marriage meets one of the *destructive impediments of the marriage*: carnal consanguinity, adultery”²³. Thus, in medieval Moldavia, as Maria Magdalena Székely has mentioned, the divorce was permitted for adultery²⁴; among the reasons of a couple separation in Wallachia, the researcher Constanta Ghițulescu listed adultery²⁵. Matei Cazacu also claims that for a requested divorce, in the case of a religious marriage, the justice admitted as reasons for separation: adultery²⁶. As for the Romanian family in Transylvania, S. Bolovan and I. Bolovan underline that: “The first canonical condition of the divorce was adultery, meaning the violation of marital fidelity by one spouse, or other acts of this kind”²⁷.

In Russian historiography, Nicolai Glubokovski examined the adultery in terms of church and Christian morality, as well as the consequences of this sin²⁸. Another article on the historical evolution of adultery and its reflection in the laws of different countries is signed by M. Abrashkevici²⁹. These works have drawn attention to adultery as a ground for divorce, as an aspect of status and situation of women in society³⁰.

²¹ Lilia Zabolotnaia, *Femeia în relațiile de familie din Țara Moldovei...*, p. 188.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 191.

²³ Mircea Brie, *Divorțul ca formă ...*, p. 78.

²⁴ M. M. Székely, *Structuri de familie în societatea medievală moldovenească...*, p. 16.

²⁵ Constanța Ghițulescu, *Familie și societate în Țara Românească...*, p. 110-113.

²⁶ Matei Cazacu, *La famille et statut de la femme en Moldavie...*, p. 12.

²⁷ Sorina Bolovan, Ioan Bolovan, *Contribuții privind divorțialitatea în Transilvania...*, p. 103-104.

²⁸ ГЛУБОКОВСКИЙ Николай Никанорович, *Развод по прелюбодеянию и его последствия по учению Христа Спасителя* [Divorce for adultery and its consequences according the teachings of Christ the Saviour], СПб., 1895, 100 с.

²⁹ Абрашкевич М. М., *О прелюбодеянии по русскому праву* [Adultery according the Russian Law], in „А се грехи злые, смертные. Русская семейная и сексуальная культура глазами историков, этнографов, литераторов, фольклористов, правоведов и богословов XIX — начала XX века” [Behold the evil and mortals sins. Russian family and sexual culture through the eyes of historians, anthropologists, writers, folklorists, jurists and theologians of XIX - early XX century], В 3 кн. / Отв. ред. Н. Л. Пушкарева. М., 1994. Кн. 2. Вып. 2.; Абрашкевич М.М., *Прелюбодеяние с точки зрения уголовного права. Историко-догматическое исследование* [Adultery in terms of criminal law. Historical-dogmatic study], Одесса: "Экон." тип., 1904.

³⁰ Загоревский, А. И., *О разводе по русскому праву* [Divorce in Russian Law], Харьков, 1884; Добровольский В.И., *Брак и развод. Очерк по русскому брачному праву* [Marriage and divorce. Essay on Russian marriage law], С.-Пб., 1903; Щапов Я.Н.,

Adultery in documents

It is well known that according to church canons, only the innocent spouse can file a request for divorce. *Armenopulos* mentions adultery in an image involving a man who considers his wife as a “demon-possessed woman” and marries another one³¹. The husband could divorce his wife, laying hands on her dowry in order to keep it for the children. If adultery is proven and the names of both defendants are known, “marriage is dissolved without delay”. In this case, the husband “keeps the gift before the wedding and dowry, and above all, if they don't have children, some of other things of the woman, along with the third part of the dowry and had in his property as dowry as well a set fine; and if he had got children with her, then he had to take the dowry and other woman's things for the children, as is determined by the previous laws”³².

Reasons for wife's divorce detrimental to her husband, with the right to take her dowry and the gift before the wedding, in order to keep them for her children were: 1. Attempt upon wife's honor, selling her for adultery; 2. Accusation of adultery, unproven by the husband. If she had no children “she received from her man a part of their property, along with a third of the gift before the wedding, and if they had children, then all assets are kept for their benefit”. 3. Adultery, after the second warning; “If the husband, disregarding his wife, was with another woman in the same house, where he was living with his wife, or in the same city, but in another house, which would be proved, and this being known once and twice by his parents or his wife's parents, as well as other witnesses worthy of trust, did not stop the debauchery, then the woman with these reasons was entitled to separate from him”. In this case, “the woman could take her dowry and the gift before the wedding, a part of the husband's wealth “along with one third of the gift before the wedding”³³.

Analyzing each document, we have found a combination of factors that cause a divorce. The couples were bringing mutual accusations, telling details of their family life. Archive sources show also various reasons and ways to solve this problem, and save the family. In this study based on concrete examples from Bessarabia, it will be presented the daily reality in the problem of divorce granted for adultery, and how the canons of the church were respected in the first half of the nineteenth century. As sources of research were used documents from the funds of the State Archives of Republic of Moldova, showing the fact of initiation of divorce processes by representatives of different social classes: nobles, townspeople, peasants, soldiers, etc.

Брак и семья в Древней Руси [Marriage and Family in Ancient Russia], in „Вопросы истории”, № 10, 1970; Цатурова М.К., *Прекращение брака по русскому семейному праву XVIII в* [Termination of marriage in the Russian family law of the XVIII century], in „Вестник МГУ”, Право, № 5, 1990; Пушкарёва Н.Л., *Русская женщина: история и современность* [Russian Woman: history and present], Москва, 2002.

³¹ *Manualul legilor sau așa numitele cele șase cărți*, title XII.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

We will examine the cases of certain families such as Apostol and Ileana Șveț, Constantine and Maria Carp, Hristi and Vasilca Bulgaru, Fiodor and Eudochia Tcacenco. In all these cases the divorce petition was submitted by the husband. The spouses Ileana and Ioan Cebotari is a special case: the divorce petition was prepared by Ileana, on other reason than adultery – Ioan leaving his wife, but it was changed detrimental to the applicant; finally, she was accused and punished for adultery.

Any divorce represents a drama for the whole family. Once the reason for divorce was identified, an application was submitted (request) for dissolution of the marriage, thus a divorce was starting. The files from the National Archive funds allow following the steps in a process of divorce. The divorce process begins at the initiative of one spouse and is examined in the ecclesiastical court, which covers the area of residency of the applicant, if both of them are Orthodox, as well as if only one of them is Orthodox. The process of divorce had several steps: 1. Initiation of the civil action for divorce; 2. Attempt of ecclesiastical authorities to mediate the conflict; 3. Investigation and prosecution of the witnesses and parties involved; 4. Legal debates where the spouses must be present personally; 5. Court's decision. In the cases presented below, the up listed steps will be visible.

The mistake recognized by the defendant was not considered and not serve as grounds for divorce. The status of Ecclesiastical Consistories said that the main evidence of crime were: 1. testimonies of 2 – 3 eyewitnesses; 2. presence of the illegitimate children, extramarital, fact demonstrated in the extracts of metrical books; 3. letters, which would prove the affair; 4. depositions of indirect witnesses who knew the problem from reliable sources; 5. testimonies of the investigators of debauched or decent life of the defendant³⁴. Very often in the courts there were witnesses with false testimonies³⁵.

The case of Apostol Șveț. On February 15, 1813, Dimitri, the Bishop of Bender and Akkerman addresses the petition for divorce to the resident of Rașcov Apostol Șveț. The applicant claims that in September 1812 married the inhabitant of Bender, the widow Ileana Vasilieva, who committed adultery, and was caught in the act many times. The husband tried several times to turn her on the right way, but without success. It came to the point that he was hated by his wife, who wanted to poison him³⁶. On December 16, 1813 the Exarch Dicastery of Chisinau addressed to high priest (*protoiereu*) Ștefan Șamraevschi from Bender to carry out the research for Șveț spouses, and to answer the following questions: 1. When Apostle Șveț married his wife and how they lived together. 2. Is it true that his wife "committed adultery" and wanted to poison him? What did she use and when? 3. How the spouses behave and how old they are. 4. Witnesses are to give depositions under oath. But after December

³⁴ Елена Белякова, *Брак и развод...*

³⁵ Idem, *Церковный суд и проблемы церковной жизни. Дискуссии в православной российской церкви начала XX века.* [Ecclesiastical Court and the problems of church life. Discussions on the Russian Orthodox Church at the beginning of XX century. Local Council of 1917-1918 and the preconiliar period], Поместный собор 1917-1918 гг. и предсоборный период, Москва, 2004, p. 238-239.

³⁶ ANRM, F.205, inv.1, d.305, f.1.

16, 1813, the priest Șamraevschii communicated that the spouses were not found³⁷.

The case of Fiodor and Eudochia Tcacenco spouses. On January 2, 1814 the resident of Chilia, Fiodor Tcacenco submitted a petition for divorce, telling that his wife Eudochia indulged fornication after marriage, committed adultery and abandoned him. Witnesses confirmed Fiodor's words³⁸.

The case of Ileana and Ioan Cebotari. On June 6, 1813 the Exarch Dicastery of Chisinau issued an order to consider the divorce petition of the inhabitant of the Seliște village, Ileana Cebotari, a wife whose husband left her³⁹. On June 14, 1813 Ioan Cebotari (another name – Bilinschi) was interrogated and he confessed: he married Ileana about 28 years ago, at St. Dumitru Church of Orhei. In turn, he was accusing the wife in adultery with a certain Ștefan Mândru, with whom she had children. The witnesses from Akkerman told under oath that Ioan lived alone and he was a shoemaker⁴⁰. After some researches, the results were given to the Dicastery: 1. Indeed, Ileana and John were married in 1790, by the priest Philip at St. Dumitru Church of Orhei. 2. Ioan was abandoning Ileana repeatedly, even after the first year of cohabitation 3. There are more than 13 years since no one knew where he was 4. Ileana had a document, since 1800, from Jacob, Metropolitan of Moldova, confirming that Ileana previously complained about her husband's behavior and was seeking him. 5. Witnesses confirmed that Ioan has left more than 17 years ago, that Ileana was continually looking for him. According to witnesses, Ioan was drinking constantly, and was taking money from the tavern, and Ileana returned them. After the departure of Ioan, Ileana lived with Ștefan Mândru with whom had got two children: Vasile 15 years old and the 8 years old Zamfira⁴¹.

Another case is that of Hristi and Vasilca Bulgaru's family from Vulcanesti village, Ismail District. The husband Hristea accused his wife of *depraved behavior*, as confirmed by neighbors and the sub-prefect, and demanded a divorce⁴². The wife filed a counter claim, mentioning that her husband was always seeking for a pretext to divorce her and often beat her. During an interrogation on October 4, 1818, the 38 years old husband confirmed that Vasilca liked to live in fornication and "ran riot" in indecent places. He accused her of frequent and constant drunkenness and theft not only from home but also from their neighbors. Therefore, he found it impossible to continue living together and insisted on being divorced from the "depraved". Neighbors have already confirmed that eight years Vasilca was stealing things and giving them in exchange for spirits in the pub⁴³. In her testimony Vasilca, who was 32 years old, an ethnic Bulgarian, showed that she was married in 1798 by Father Iane Bolgar and for 12 years she lived peacefully with her husband. In the past eight years, according to her, the husband hated her, but admitted her weakness to alcohol, but no

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ ANRM, F.205, inv.1, d. 685.

³⁹ ANRM, F.205, inv.1, d.309, f.5-5v, 40-40v.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, f.8.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, f.10-19.

⁴² ANRM, F. 205, i.1, d.2391.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, f.6.

other vices were suspected. She was running in different places by stupidity and fear of Hristea, who used to beat her⁴⁴.

In Bessarabia allegations of infidelity were not rare. In 1824 the noble Carp Constantin from the village of Ciobaccia, Ismail County, requested a divorce with Ciude Maria on grounds of adultery⁴⁵. The applicant reported that on January 16, 1815 officiated his legitimate marriage with the daughter of Procopie Ciude, dweller of Hotin city, the widow Maria⁴⁶. They were married by the priest Nikephoros and have been together for 7 years. Constantine said that several people warned him that his wife is cheating with another man, but he could not believe it, until he made sure of himself. He had the confirmation of the witnesses, respected people. Among the evidences is the one of the widow Chita, which asserted that she knew the cause of adultery: the wife hated her husband. It was decided that the case to be examined by the protopope Simeon Makovschi together with the police⁴⁷. On June 6, 1824 the protopope notified the Exarch Dicastery of Chisinau that he acquainted the sub-prefecture of Bender about the seeking for Maria⁴⁸. On January 23, 1826 the same protopope also reported that Maria Ciude together with her concubine, Armenian Mark Adjalogli, left for Bulgarian colony Comrat. On June 19, 1826 Maria gives written explanation of the created situation, saying that she was 27 years old. She got married at age 13 with Fiodor Manicovschi, the resident of Hotin, and lived with her husband only for 10 months. After his death, she married Constantine Carp with whom she lived three years and had one child, Savelii, who died. But according to her, he began to consume alcohol and brought them in a state of difficult poverty, not having a stable place to live, and they had to live in the hamlet of Major Patarachie. On the advice of her husband, she entered the service of Armenian Adjalogli Mark, who was the owner of Ciobaccia. After two years the Armenian man left for Leca village, Maria and her husband followed him. After two months her husband left her and wandered through Bessarabia. When he returned in Ciobaccia, Maria went to her husband, who said that he was not able to support her. The woman refused to go with Constantine in Moldova, the later threw the papers for divorce to her face and Maria returned to service to Armenian man. She claimed that she had no affair with aforementioned Marcar, no witness could confirm her infidelity, and she wanted to continue to live with Constantine, leaving the service for Mark Adjalogli and returned to Hotin⁴⁹.

The punishment for adultery

The person guilty of adultery had no right to remarry. Besides, the wife guilty of adultery was punished morally and civilly. The moral punishment consisted in a seven years epithemy, one year being spent in the monastery. In Russia there were

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, f.7-11.

⁴⁵ In documents „прелюбодеяние” and „блудоддеяние”. *ANRM*, F. 205, i. 1, d. 6162, f. 1.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, f.1-1v.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 2-3v.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 5.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 6-13.

cases of epithemy terms of 14 to 15 years⁵⁰. In the Russian Empire in addition to epithemy it was practiced the following sanctions: a) exile for a life in monastery, b) work on spinning, usually replaced by banishment to Siberia, c) sentence to eternal work, d) relegation in their own villages, with no right to leave them till their death, d) whip penalty. Among the consequences of a divorce because of adultery can be emphasized also the inability to bear the husband's name, fact for which the guilty woman was giving a receipt. In the nineteenth-century the court was accepting less and less the divorces on grounds of adultery⁵¹.

In the case of Fiodor and Eudochia Tcacenco spouses, on February 13, 1814 the ecclesiastical authorities responded that according to the law, such a sin and behavior would bring on a divorce, but because they didn't know where she was, he had to wait for five years. But on December 10 Fiodor Tcacenco announced that Eudochia returned to him and they agreed to live together in peace, fact notified at the Dicastery by the priest Maleavimschi, on February 9, 1815⁵².

The decision in case of Ileana Cebotari was as follows: the marital infidelity is demonstrated. According to the legislation Ileana should be divorced, subject to epithemy and with no right to remarry. However, because Ioan gave a reason for adultery leaving her at a young age, and she did not commit any adultery until his departures, as well as the husband did not take any action to stop immoral actions, Ileana was sentenced to 7 years of epithemy, to atone the sins in Răciula convent. Ștefan Mândru was also subjected to epithemy. In addition, they had to go to church every Sunday and holidays and repent, four days in a row to make 100 worships, to fast every time and to confess, but not share, except for the death. Every year, then every six months they had to report the completion of epithemy. After serving her sentence Ileana and Ștefan had to live separately and not to commit adultery; if Ioan refuses to continue to live with Ileana, they are allowed to be separated. On December 3, 1814 Paisius, the Father-Superior of the monastery Saharna, reported that Ștefan was serving his sentence in Saharna. On May 15, 1815 Ștefan was released under the priests observation⁵³.

In Hristi and Vasilca Bulgaru's case, on October 24, 1818 Hristi is handed the Decree no 3023 of 16 October in Chisinau from Exarch Dicastery, which is required to reconcile and live at peace. Already on 24 October, the couple signed a document committing to live "in peace and understanding"⁵⁴: husband must be careful with his wife and respect her, and wife should behave with dignity and not to consume alcoholic beverages. As you can see from the above case, despite his wife's depraved behavior shown, plus drunkenness and theft, the divorce had been refused and it was resorted to the spouses' reconciliation.

In Constantin and Maria Carp's case, after some research it was found that

⁵⁰ А. Загоровский, *О разводе по русскому праву* [Divorce in Russian Law], Харьков, 1884, p. 307.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² ANRM, F.205, inv.1, d. 685.

⁵³ ANRM, F.205, i. 1, d. 309, f.16 -20v, 21-35.

⁵⁴ ANRM, F. 205, i.1, d. 2391, f. 11.

Constantin Carp was not at the indicated place they lived, so that the file was closed. From the examined case it is clear that the adultery accusation was thoroughly examined. Since her husband could not prove adultery, nor was at the place of his residency to combat testimony wife, divorce was not granted. The society was looking negatively at adultery, which was considered a sin, and the woman accused of adultery was to bear a negative attitude from the community members where she was living.

Conclusions

Following the research and analysis of the files we can conclude that in Bessarabia in the first half of the nineteenth century the most common reasons for requesting a divorce, and also led to marriage dissolution were: adultery, attempted murder, drunkenness, violation of marriage norms etc. Some applications for divorce contain only one reason for divorce, others contain several reasons: adultery and drunkenness, beating, drunkenness and infidelity etc. Divorce was filed by both men and women, representing different social groups.

Adultery was a reason for divorce, therefore the process was lengthy and contained all stages of the process: submission of the application, initiation of the investigation, interrogation of the witnesses and persons involved, the sentence. The court's sentence was deciding the future of the spouses: their marriage was declared ended or they were forced to continue living together. With the verdict, the guilty one was denied the right to remarry, or both spouses were prohibited from remarriage, moral punishments were applied, epithemy, etc. Meanwhile, the ecclesiastical authorities did everything possible to keep the family, looking for various reasons and arguments to prevent the divorce, because it destroyed the foundations of family mental indispensability. Simultaneously, women were particularly affected by divorce, because the society as a whole was not going down well with a divorced woman.

LA SOCIÉTÉ MOLDAVE PENDANT LA GUERRE DE CRIMÉE DANS LA VISION DES CONSULS ET VOYAGEURS FRANÇAIS

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Rezumat: Noua situație creată după înfrângerea revoluției pașoptiste a stârnitul interesul și curiozitatea Europei pentru spațiul românesc, numărul călătorilor continuând să fie mare în perioada cuprinsă între anii 1848-1856. Toți acești călători, alături de consulii francezi, fiind preocupați, „să recupereze exotismul civilizației orientale”, au traversat aceste principate și ne-au lăsat moștenire importante descrieri de călătorie, reflecțiile lor cuprinzând analize referitoare la viața economică și politică, la aspecte sociale, etnice, culturale și urbanistice.

Abstract: The new situation created after the defeat of the revolution of 1848 increased the interest and the curiosity of Europe for the Romanian territory. The number of these passengers continued to be high during the period 1848-1856. All these passengers and French consuls, being concerned to recover „the exotic oriental civilization”, crossed these principalities and bequeathed us important travel descriptions, including analysis of their reflections on the economic and political life.

Résumé: La nouvelle situation créée après la défaite de la révolution de 1848 a suscité l'intérêt et la curiosité de l'Europe pour l'espace roumain. Le nombre de voyageurs a continué à être plus élevé dans la période 1848-1856. Tous les voyageurs et consuls français, étant préoccupés „à récupérer l'exotisme de la civilisation orientale”, ont voyagé à travers de ces pays et ils nous ont donné des informations très importants, leurs réflexions concernant les analyses économiques et politiques, les questions sociales, ethniques, culturels et urbains.

Keywords: Moldavia, France, vision, society, consul, voyagers, contacts

Dans le contexte de la révolution européenne de 1848 ont été créées des conditions favorables pour apporter à l'attention de l'Europe le problème roumain. Comme dans d'autres circonstances, à travers l'histoire, cette fois-ci, le destin de la nation dépendait du jeu politique des grandes puissances, de la nature de leurs relations, de l'équilibre politique et d'évolution dans la question d'Orient. En 1848 la tentative d'installer dans les Principautés Danubiennes une république a échoué lamentablement. Pour "régénérer" le pays, les Roumains étaient convaincus que les deux principautés devaient être unies. La formation d'un état uni roumain «serait

nécessaire au équilibre européen, continuellement menacé par les tendances expansionnistes de la Russie dans le sud-est Européen »¹, car, unis, les deux principautés formeraient une nation plus forte.

On peut dire que, malgré la défaite de la révolution de 1848, l'Europe a pris connaissance «des aspirations et des droits d'une nation». La révolution a prouvé non seulement que les Roumains étaient fermement décidés à réaliser leurs aspirations nationales par leurs propres moyens, mais aussi combien ils y étaient préparés². Il était clair que les souhaits de la révolution ont été en conflit avec les réalités des Principautés. Après la défaite de la révolution, les deux Principautés roumaines ont été occupées pour deux années. Au cours de cette occupation, les princes régnants Barbu Știrbei et Grigore Alexandru Ghica³, étaient privés de la possibilité d'effectuer des actions extérieures parce qu'ils étaient sous l'impact de la Russie et de l'Empire Ottoman. Les princes ont dû prendre un jeu d'équilibre, habile et délicat, entre la Porte ottomane et la Russie. Pendant la guerre de Crimée, à cause des conflits apparus entre les grandes puissances, le problème de l'union des Principautés est devenue une question d'importance européenne, elle étant discutée aux pourparlers de paix à Vienne, au printemps de 1855, puis, plus largement, en 1856, au Congrès de Paris.

Après 1848 et jusqu'au Congrès, le problème des Principautés a été à l'attention de la diplomatie et de l'opinion publique européennes, leurs union suscitant un ample et parfois passionné débat diplomatique en l'Europe. Beaucoup d'occidentaux ont été curieux de s'impliquer dans le milieu des événements, même à prendre part dans leur mise en œuvre. La plupart ont enregistré méticuleusement les événements et les décisions, ont présenté les mesures prises, ont identifié et commenté les événements, à savoir, ils ont dit leurs pensées sur les hommes et sur les réalités rencontrés. Comme dans le cas des œuvres en français sur la révolution de 1848-1849, les écrits français publiés après cette date jusqu'à l'Union de 1859 sont très variétés et différenciés en termes de valeur⁴. Le fait est expliqué par l'augmentation du nombre de ces écrits, à mesure de l'eupéanisation de la cause roumaine.

La France, grande puissance à ce moment en Europe, se situait sur les positions de soutien de la cause roumaine. Les Français ont vu, dès le début du siècle

¹ Nichita Adăniloae, Anastasie Iordache, *Unitatea națională a românilor în epoca modernă (1821-1918)* [L'unité nationale des roumains sans l'époque moderne], București, Editura Academiei, 1985, p. 92.

² Gh. Platon, *Le «problème roumain» et le «problème orientala» dans la première moitié du XIX-ème siècle. Interférences et implications*, en „Revue Roumain d'Histoire” 2, 1979, p. 378.

³ N. Iorga, *Mărturiile istorice privitoare la viața și domnia lui Știrbei Vodă* [Témoignages historiques concernant la vie et le règne du prince Știrbei], București, 1905, p. 29; Leonid Boicu, *Adevărul despre un destin politic. Domnitorul Grigore Alexandru Ghica (1849-1856)* [La vérité sur un destin politique. Le prince Grigore Alexandru Ghica (1849-1856)], Editura Junimea, Iași, 1973

⁴ N. Isar, *Publiciști francezi și cauza română: 1834-1859*, [Publicistes français et la cause roumaine: 1834-1859], Editura Academiei, București, 1991, p. 19

que, la création d'un État roumain fort et libre était la seule solution à la question d'Orient, la seule barrière à opposer aux appétits de la Russie, comme à ceux de l'Autriche. Cette situation a imposé la connaissance de la société roumaine, les rapports consulaires français offrant de nombreux témoignages intéressants, à propos de ce qu'ils savaient ou de ce qu'ils en avaient à apprendre au cours de la création d'État national. Ainsi les consuls ont eu la mission d'informer les autorités françaises sur les réalités économiques, sociales et politiques de la Moldavie.

Le nombre de voyageurs a continué à être plus élevé dans la période 1848-1856. Diplomates, militaires, géographes, littéraires, professeurs, avocats, tous ces voyageurs étaient caractérisés par une grande diversité sociale, religieuse et culturelle. Tous ces voyageurs préoccupés "à récupérer l'exotisme de la civilisation orientale"⁵ ont voyagé à travers de ces pays et nous ont légué des descriptions très importantes, leurs réflexions concernant les analyses économiques et politiques, les questions sociales, ethniques, culturels et urbains. Les notes des voyageurs qui ont visité la Moldavie sont considérées des sources précieuses pour l'historiographie roumaine. Les auteurs ont décrit le monde qu'ils ont vu, leurs conclusions étant intéressantes et, généralement, objectives.

Tous ces publicistes et consuls ont réussi, avec plus ou moins de succès, à réaliser un acte essentiel, c'est-à-dire, de former, peu à peu, une image de la société moldave. L'intérêt de l'opinion publique européenne, et en particulier, celui de la France, a été un long processus imagologique. On sait que l'imagologie est une discipline scientifique, créée aux frontières de la psychologie, de la sociologie, du folklore et de la culture. L'imagologie analyse, „diachronique, synchronique et comparative”⁶, les images que les différents peuples ont forgés aux dépens des autres nations au cours du temps, par exemple, l'image de la Moldavie dans les yeux des Français. Notre démarche est une analyse de l'image de la société moldave, à savoir, une enquête visant les réalités moldaves sous la forme des images, ainsi comme elle est reflétée dans la vision des consuls et voyageurs français.

Dans le domaine de l'imagologie doivent être mentionnées les contributions de Nicolae Iorga, *L'histoire des Roumains par voyageurs*, volume soigné par Adrian Anghelescu, București, 1981; Dan A. Lăzărescu *L'image de la Roumanie par voyageurs*, București, 1985; Simona Vărzaru, *Par les Principautés roumaines - voyageurs étrangers au XIX-ème siècle*, volume apparue à la Maison d'édition Sport-Turism à București en 1984. Des références historiques très importantes nous avons trouvé dans le volume *Voyageurs étrangers sur les Principautés Roumaines au XIX-*

⁵ Dim Petre, *Societatea românească în perioada modernă. Imagologie și mituri istorice* [La société roumaine dans la période moderne. Perception et mythes historiques], Editura Napoca Star, Cluj - Napoca, 2006, p. 101

⁶ Dan A. Lăzărescu, *Imaginea României prin călători* [L'image de la Roumanie par voyageurs], vol. I, Editura Sport-turism, București, 1985, p. 13

ème siècle, la nouvelle série, le V-ème volume, (1847-1851), soigné par Daniela Bușă, București, 2009, volume qui comprend des traductions commentées et annotées par les gens qui ont traversé cette région au début du XIX-ème siècle. Une autre source fondamentale que nous avons utilisée est représentée par les rapports consulaires français, dans le volume *Documents concernant l'histoire des Roumains*, le XVIII-ème volume, *Correspondances diplomatiques et rapports consulaires français 1847-1851*, documents choisis par Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki, București, 1916. Qu'on nous permette maintenant de dire un mot de la méthode que nous avons suivie. Une présentation strictement chronologique ou même méthodique des auteurs aurait sans doute entraîné quelque aridité. Nous avons préféré grouper les témoignages de voyageurs sur certains sujets : caractères généraux du sol, divers aspects des paysages ou de l'habitat, traits distinctifs des campagnards et des citadins, particularités provinciales.

La Guerre de Crimée a attiré l'attention sur les Principautés, les premières nouvelles sur la Moldavie et la Valachie étant données par Adolphe Laurent Joanne⁷ en 1849. Les impressions de celui-ci ont été recueillies dans l'œuvre *Voyage illustré dans cinq parties du monde 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849* publiée à Paris en 1850. Un autre français qui a vécu au milieu des moldaves pendant sept années a été le consul général de la France, Adolphe Etienne Billecocq⁸. Dans son journal, le consul a témoigné que lors de son séjour dans les Principautés, il a apprécié l'hospitalité et la bonne volonté des Moldaves, connaissant leur sensibilité et leur potentielle.

Nous ne savons presque rien sur la vie et l'œuvre de Sombreuil, mais étant donné que sur la feuille du titre de son œuvre, *Les jeunes voyageurs en Turcia, ou détails intéressants sur les productions naturelles et industrielles, les monuments, les curiosités, les mœurs et usages des habitants de cette contrée* publiée à Paris en 1851, a apparu comme auteur Prieur de Sombreuil, on suppose que c'était un prêtre. Il a traversé la Moldavie en hâte, laissant beaucoup d'informations sur Iassy et Bucarest. Un autre voyageur présent dans les Principautés a été A. Sabatier, un officier français qui parlait de l'aspiration des gens pour obtenir "une protection collective ...et un prince étranger, pour régner sur les deux Provinces-Unies, avec un capital commun à Focșani"⁹. Appert¹⁰ est arrivé dans ces deux Principautés en 1853

⁷ Adolphe Laurent Joanne (1813-1881) est un journaliste et homme de lettre français. Entre 1846-1849 il a fait un long voyage en Europe. Il passa par la Moldavie à la fin de 1846. (*Călători străini despre Țările Române în secolul al XIX-lea* [Voyageurs étrangers sur les Principautés Roumains au XIX-ème siècle], la nouvelle série, le V-ème volume, (1847-1851), volume soigné par Daniela Bușă, Editura Academiei, București, 2009, p. 17)

⁸ Adolphe Etienne Billecocq (1800-18741), diplomate français, consul général à Bucarest (1839-1846) (N. Isar, *op. cit.*, p. 18)

⁹ *Călători străini...*, nouvelle série, le V-ème volume, p. 39

¹⁰ Appert est un voyageur qui passa par la Moldavie pendant la guerre de Crimée. Il a été un philanthrope très apprécié par le roi Louis-Philippe (N. Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin*

avec un objectif bien défini, c'est-à-dire de connaître l'état du système des prisons. Son œuvre a été publiée dans le moment quand "l'indépendance et la liberté de vos belles et nobles Principautés sont fortement menacées"¹¹, pour montrer à tous "la douceur des mœurs, la flexion sur les progrès de la civilisation et l'amour ardent des gens pour leur pays"¹². Superficiels mais toujours importantes, ce sont les commentaires d'un autre voyageur français, J. D. de Bois-Robert¹³, qui, pendant la guerre de Crimée, a traversé par la Moldavie.

En 1853, le géologue et le géographe Georges Lejean a été envoyé par le gouvernement français pour faire une expédition dans la Moldavie et la Valachie et ses impressions ont été publiées en 1858 dans *Bulletin de la société de géographie* à Paris. Eugène Jouve, le journaliste de Lyon est arrivé dans les Principautés en 1854, il étant celui qui a soutenu l'idée de la création "d'un petit état neutre"¹⁴. Le consul français Eugène Poujade, une fois arrivé en Bucovine, a constaté que "ici l'esprit de nationalité a gardé tout son pouvoir"¹⁵. Un autre écrivain qui a vraiment aimé la Moldavie et la Valachie a été Ulysse de Marsillac¹⁶, professeur universitaire à l'école militaire de Bucarest et rédacteur en chef du „Journal de Bucarest”¹⁷.

Tous ces voyageurs et diplomates nous ont laissé une analyse complète sur la politique, la situation économique, les classes sociales mais, aussi, beaucoup d'informations sur les habitudes et la vie quotidienne des Roumains. Presque tous les voyageurs qui sont entrés dans les Principautés enregistrant leurs impressions, ont commencé par donner des informations concernant la position et l'aspect des deux pays roumains. La Moldavie avaient comme voisins l'Autriche et la Russie, mais, après A. L. Joanne "cette voisinage était fatale"¹⁸. La Moldavie, après les notes de Sombreuil, était "la plus nordique province de la Turquie européenne"¹⁹, tandis que A. Sabatier précisait que "la Moldavie est située entre le versant oriental des Carpates et le Prut, la rivière qui forme la frontière de la Russie"²⁰. Le relief de la Moldavie "est harmonique parce que la nature a fait de la Roumanie un pays magnifique"²¹,

călători [L'histoire des Roumains par voyageurs], volume soigné par Adrian Angheliescu, Editura Eminescu, București, 1981, p. 557)

¹¹ Appert, *Voyage dans les Principautés danubiennes*, Mainz, 1854, p. 3

¹² *Ibidem*.

¹³ N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 566

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 574

¹⁵ N. Isar, *op. cit.*, p. 26

¹⁶ Ulysse de Marsillac, *Guide de voyageur à Bucarest*, București, 1872

¹⁷ Beatrice Marinescu, Aurel Duțu, Șerban Rădulescu-Zoner, *Bucureștiul și epopeea independenței, 1877-1878* [Bucarest et l'épopée de l'indépendance 1877-1878], Editura Academiei, București, 1978, p. 13

¹⁸ *Călători străini...*, nouvelle série, le V-ème volume, p. 21

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 115

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 288

²¹ N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 594

comme signalait Ulysse de Marsillac. La Moldavie a été divisée en treize districts, chacun administré par un prince qui avait comme subordonnée quatre ou sept agents inférieurs, placés dans les principaux centres de population²². Mais "un grand mal" dérivait de la vénalité des ces fonctions, celles-ci étant achetées avec beaucoup d'argent et de sacrifices.

La capitale moldave est située "sur la grande route de la Russie vers les capitales européennes"²³, occupant un large territoire. Après la remarque de Sombreuil, la ville d'Iassy était située "en partie sur une colline agréable et en partie dans une vallée où il y a des marais qui donnent un air très malsain"²⁴. Vu d'un oiseau en vol "la ville apparaît comme une étoile avec des rayons inégaux, constituée des périphéries qui s'étendent du centre à divers points marginaux"²⁵. L'aspect entier d'Iassy, vu soit de la plaine Bahlui ou de l'une des collines environnantes est très pittoresque car il se présente comme "un long amphithéâtre, comme un véritable panorama, sur un tronçon de plus de sept kilomètres, où d'un point à l'autre l'œil du spectateur s'arrête sur les clochers qui scintillent ou sur la blancheur des bâtiments majestueux"²⁶. La population d'Iassy était «rare». Sabatier notait que sa population n'était que de 60 000 habitants, divisée après les informations fournies par Joanne en boyards, prêtres, moines, gens, étrangers, hongrois, juifs, tziganes²⁷.

L'aspect de la Moldavie était "hideux" et il offrait seulement "un air très triste". En Moldavie, Pigeory a trouvé seulement "des casernes, des logements insalubres ... des huttes de terre qui s'appellent des villages et des ponts en bois pourris"²⁸. Selon Charles Doussault la capitale de la Moldavie était un véritable contraste entre la richesse et la pauvreté, avec "un air de bazar"²⁹. De la barrière de Copou, en allant vers le centre, "ne se trouvent que de beaux bâtiments, nettoyés et certains même majestueuses dans le style et la taille"³⁰. Poujade a avoué qu'il a trouvé le long de la route quelques maisons riches et bien construits³¹. Les maisons étaient grandes, avec

²² *Călători străini...*, nouvelle série, le V-ème volume, p. 292

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 93

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 117

²⁵ N. A. Bogdan, *Orașul Iași. Monografie istorică și socială ilustrată* [La ville de Iasi. Monographie historiques et sociaux illustrée], la deuxième édition, Tipografia Națională, Iași, 1915, p. 50; *Istoria orașului Iași* [L'histoire de Iassy], volume soigné par C. Cihodaru, Gh. Platon, Editura Junimea, Iași, 1980, p. 380

²⁶ N. A. Bogdan, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Georgeta Crăciun, *Călători străini despre Iași în secolele XIV-XIX* [Les voyageurs étrangers sur Iassy dans les XIV-ème – XIX-ème siècle], en „Studii și articole de istorie”, București, 1966, VIII, p. 238-254

²⁷ *Călători străini...*, nouvelle série, le V-ème volume, p. 19

²⁸ N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 565-566

²⁹ Laurențiu Vlad, *Ecouri românești în presa franceză: l'Illustration (1843-1944)* [Échos roumains dans la presse française: l'Illustration (1843-1944)], Editura Universității din București, 2004, p. 36

³⁰ N. A. Bogdan, *op. cit.*, p. 50

³¹ *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor* [Documents concernant l'histoire des

des jardins, mais comme a noté le même consul français, "la plupart sans élégance, mais avec un aspect monumental"³². Les périphéries avec leur "air de mystère"³³, après l'observation de Joanne, ont été composées de petites maisons construites sans règles, de matériaux ordinaires, et sans tenir compte d'un alignement ou d'un système de construction³⁴. En général le mode de construction de logements s'améliore, c'est-à-dire, si dès 1842 les paysans avaient seulement des maisons sombres et enfumées appelées huttes, après cette année les gens ont construit des maisons en bois ou en briques composées de trois chambres³⁵. Mais à l'intérieur des maisons il y avait peu de meubles qui ne fournissaient pas le confort et la bonne condition des habitants.

Ubicini a donné beaucoup d'information, montrant que les principales pièces de mobilier étaient les lits et deux ou trois boîtes le long du mur couvert avec des tapis, car "il n'y a ni de placards, ni de buffet, ni de chaises"³⁶. Toutefois, dans certaines maisons il y avait des banques et des tabourets. Le publiciste Français nous a laissé encore quelques informations sur les ménages et les ustensiles. Les fourchettes de cuisine ont été rares, et l'utilisation de bouteilles était presque inconnue. Dans une cuisine il y avait souvent "une casserole, une poêle, beaucoup pots d'argile, une demi-douzaine d'assiettes et de cuillères"³⁷. Dans la maison, les femmes, pour laver le linge, utilisaient "un objet en bois sculpté en forme de bateaux, appelé pétrin (...), objet qui a été utilisé presque tout le temps comme une balançoire pour les enfants"³⁸.

Mais, ce qui a changé l'aspect des villes et leur a donné une tonne de vie et de joie³⁹ étaient les arbres, les roseaux ou les pelouses vertes qui étaient semées parmi tous les bâtiments de la ville et ses monuments. Après les affirmations de Sombreuil presque toutes les maisons avaient autour d'eux des plantations d'arbres, d'arbustes et de fleurs : "la plupart des maisons ont été séparées les uns des autres et entourés par des jardins et des vergers"⁴⁰. En général, l'assy a eu beaucoup de grands jardins. Appert a noté que, le jardin public que les gens l'appelaient Copou "était très beau, et

Roumains], le XVIII-ème volume, *Correspondență diplomatică și rapoarte consulare franceze 1847-1851* [Correspondances diplomatiques et rapports consulaires français 1847-1851], documents choisis par Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki, București, 1916, p. 174

³² N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 585

³³ *Călători străini...*, nouvelle série, le V-ème volume, p. 18

³⁴ N. A. Bogdan, *op. cit.*, p. 50

³⁵ J. H. A. Ubicini, *Valahia la 1848. Amintiri și întâmplări din călătorie. Scrisoarea I-III* [La Valachie en 1848. Souvenirs et récits de voyage], dans le volume *Anul 1848 în Principatele Române. Acte și documente* [1848 dans les Principautés roumaines. Actes et documents], tome V, Institutul de Arte grafice „Carol Gobl”, București, 1904, p. 801

³⁶ *Călători străini...*, nouvelle série, le V-ème volume, p. 276

³⁷ *Ibidem.*

³⁸ *Ibidem.*

³⁹ N. A. Bogdan, *op. cit.*, p. 50

⁴⁰ *Călători străini...*, nouvelle série, le V-ème, p. 117

le dimanche ou les jours fériés, nous y pouvons voir la haute société qui fait des promenades”⁴¹. Appert a aussi remarqué le grand nombre des fiacres, précisant le fait que ces moyens de transport n’étaient pas un luxe, mais une nécessité à cause du mauvais état des routes⁴². Poujade a témoigné que les ponts ne sont pas dans un état pas mieux: ”les ponts jetés sur Siret, Moldavie, Bistrita sont mal construits et dans un état déplorable”⁴³. La capitale moldave semblait un énorme village, sans frontière et avec des rues sales et sans nom⁴⁴. Les rues, notait Sombreuil ”étaient étroites et sinueuses, mal pavées et mal alignées (...) en printemps et en automne elles sont toujours couverts par une boue qui pénètre en profondeur et en été, d’une gros poussière noire”⁴⁵. Les rues centrales étaient droites, toutes pavées en bitume, pressé ou moulé. La rue principale, très large, était bordée de chaque côté ”de boutiques plus bas et moins imposants”⁴⁶.

Le centre-ville était illuminé avec des lampes à arc électrique, et aux rues secondaires avec des lampes à huile ou à pétrole. Le soir, l’effet produit par ses lampes était admirable parce que celles-ci donnaient l’impression d’un immense jardin féérique⁴⁷. Les banlieues ont été presque aveuglées dans la nuit, car les lampes à huile étaient rarement placées et leur lumière était ainsi faible⁴⁸.

Ce que détériorait l’aspect d’Iassy, après la remarque de Eugène Poujade était le quartier hébreu, où ”plus de 30 000 de juifs habitent dans des laides maisons, entourés soit de boue, soit de poussière”⁴⁹. Certains voyageurs qui ont traversé le territoire de la Moldavie, mais surtout ceux qui sont restés dans la capitale pendant la guerre de Crimée, ont constaté que cette ville, Iassy, donnait l’impression d’une civilisation parfaite quand il était regardé de loin, mais, en même temps, pour ceux qui pénétraient dans ses banlieues elle semblait désolante⁵⁰.

Les voyageurs ont été surpris par la pauvreté des paysans même si, notait Poujade, ”ils ne sont plus des serfs ... et ils ne dépendent plus de leur boyards”⁵¹.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p. 675

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 676

⁴³ Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, vol. XVIII, p. 174; L. Boicu, *Transporturile*, [Les transports] dans le volume *Dezvoltarea economiei Moldovei (1848-1864). Contribuții* [Le développement économique de la Moldavie (1848-1864). Contributions], volume soigné par Val. Popovici, Editura Academiei, București, 1963

⁴⁴ *Călători străini...*, nouvelle série, le V-ème volume, p. 18

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 117

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁷ N. A. Bogdan, *op. cit.*, p. 50

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 52

⁴⁹ N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 585

⁵⁰ Dumitru Vitcu, *Leagănul Unirii Principatelor* [Le berceau de l’Unification des Principautés], dans le volume *Iași. Menirea unei capitale* [Iassy. Le devenir d’une capitale], volume soigné par Gh. Iacob, Editura Universității „Al.I. Cuza”, Iași, 2008, p. 72

⁵¹ N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 585-586

Malgré les difficultés, les paysans ont gardé les habitudes et l'apparence de ses ancêtres. Le consul français A. E. Billecocq affirmait que leur costume habituel se composait "d'une chemise ficelée avec un large ceinturon en cuir ou une ceinture en laine, qui sert de poche (...) des pantalons, des sandales en cuir de chèvre ou de cheval (...) Sur la tête, ils portaient un chapeau en peau d'agneau parce que certains paysans l'avaient remplacé par un chapeau de laine, petit et aplati"⁵². En hiver les paysans portaient un long manteau en fourrure de mouton mais, en particulier, dans les jours fériés, ils portaient un manteau en laine avec des broderies de fourrure sur les coutures. Le costume des paysannes était aussi beau. Elle portait une chemise, une ceinture colorée, un tablier qui jamais ne couvrait les chevilles, un fichu et des sandales⁵³. Pour tous ces paysans, Charles Doussault a une affection particulière, surtout pour leur désir de préserver le costume national, au lieu des vêtements modernes portés par la bourgeoisie roumaine⁵⁴.

L'alimentation des paysans était très simple. L'aliment de base, après l'affirmation de Ubicini, était "une épaisse bouillie, faite de farine de maïs, appelée la polenta, qui prenait la place du pain"⁵⁵. Aux repas, dans les bons jours, les paysans ajoutaient un peu de lait, de beurre ou de crème. La polenta comme nourriture de base a été mentionnée par J.B. de Bois- Robert, celui qui une fois arrivé dans les pays roumains a été reçu avec une grande joie par les paysans. La boisson habituelle était "l'eau, qui le plus souvent est remplacé avec une sorte de bière appelée bosan. En outre, les gens boivent une boisson faite de prune et appelée l'eau de vie"⁵⁶.

Les occupations des paysans étaient très variées. Les femmes filaient, tissaient et confectionnaient les vêtements et les lingeeries. Le consul français Huet signalait que "le paysan moldave est essentiellement attachée à la terre"⁵⁷. L'agriculture se faisait avec des outils primitifs qui se réduisaient à la charrue, à la pelle et à la fourche en bois. En ce qui concerne les dépositaires des récoltes, il n'y avait pas des granges. Ubicini notait que les céréales étaient conservées dans des fosses creusées dans le sol ou dans des grands paniers, recouvert de pailles⁵⁸. Ces granges, signalait le même publiciste français, offraient une vue unique⁵⁹. Une autre profession pratiquée par les paysans était celle de cocher. Billecocq, impressionné de ces cochers moldaves, a

⁵² *Călători străini...*, nouvelle série, le V-ème volume, p. 274

⁵³ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁴ Laurențiu Vlad, *op. cit.*, p. 36; Adrian-Silvian Ionescu, *Politică și modă la cumpăna secolelor XVIII-XIX* [Politique et mode dans les XIV-ème-XIX-ème siècle], en „Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie «A.D. Xenopol»”, XXXIII, 1996, Editura Academiei Române, Iași, p. 57-82

⁵⁵ *Călători străini...*, nouvelle série, le V-ème volume, p. 275

⁵⁶ N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 564

⁵⁷ Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, vol. XVIII, p. 333

⁵⁸ *Călători străini...*, nouvelle série, le V-ème volume, p. 277

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*.

avoué que "le paysan roumain, qui est le plus primitif, le plus désespéré être humain, une fois qu'il est sur le cheval, il devient le plus habille cocher du monde"⁶⁰.

Le transport était effectué par les charrettes en été, et par des seins en hiver, ainsi que, à tout moment, que ce soit en hiver ou en été, les voyageurs pouvaient traverser rapidement les deux pays roumains, après la remarque de A. Sabatier. Le transport de marchandises et des céréales, qui constituent le gros du commerce se faisait avec des charrettes en bois tirées par deux ou six bœufs⁶¹. Ces chariots qui allaient en convoi, étaient certainement un système de transport très économique, mais, disait Sabatier, empêchaient le progrès dans l'agriculture⁶². Ce système appelé "diligence" a été nommé par Thibault Lefebvre "l'équipage satanique"⁶³, caractérisé comme "le véhicule le plus inconfortable et la plus primitive d'Europe"⁶⁴. La vie des paysans était généralement difficile. Les paysans portaient tous les fardeaux de l'État⁶⁵, car "celui qui a vécu jusqu'à récemment dans des huttes sous la terre, était celui qui construisent maintenant des grands palais magnifique"⁶⁶.

La Moldavie, signalait Georges Lejean, "est un pays d'une grande fertilité et l'agriculture est ici remarquablement développée"⁶⁷. Contrairement à Georges Lejean, A. Sabatier considérait que "l'agriculture n'était pas très développée"⁶⁸. Sabatier notait que seulement une petite portion de terre était défrichée et que le jardinage était aussi presque absent. Les animaux qui s'élèvent en Moldavie étaient en particulier des chevaux, des bovins et de nombreux troupeaux de moutons. Les chevaux, après la description de Sombreuil était très "beaux, bien faits, vifs et dociles"⁶⁹. Les bovins étaient bien soignés pour être exportés vers la Russie et la Pologne.

Les animaux sauvages étaient d'une grande diversité tels que les sangliers, les cerfs, les chèvres sauvages, les ours, les loups, les renards, les martres et les lapins⁷⁰. Parce que le gibier se trouvait en abondance, "l'un des plus grands plaisirs que pouvait

⁶⁰ *Ibidem.*, p. 100; Oliver Velescu, *Contribuții la imaginea străzii bucureștene: Birjarii și șoferii (1785-1912)* [Contributions à l'image des rues de Bucarest: les cochers et les chauffeurs (1785-1912)], en „*Historia Urbana*”, Editura Academiei Române, tome VII, 1999, nr. 1-2, p. 121-130

⁶¹ L. Boicu, *Scrieri istorice alese* [Ecrits historiques sélectionnés], volume soigné par Dumitru Vitcu, Editura Demiurg, Iași, 2011, p. 39

⁶² *Călători străini...*, nouvelle série, le V-ème volume, p. 292

⁶³ Thibault Lefebvre, *La Valachie au point de vue économique et diplomatique*, Paris, 1858, p. 184

⁶⁴ *Ibidem.*

⁶⁵ I. Ghica, *Scrieri* [Ecrits], le I-er volume, București, 1914, p. 11

⁶⁶ N. Bălcescu, *Opere* [Oeuvres], le I-er volume, édition soignée par G. Zane, Editura Academiei, București, 1964, p. 250

⁶⁷ Georges Lejean, *Bulletin de la société de géographie*, Paris, 1858, p. 110

⁶⁸ *Călători străini...*, nouvelle série, le V-ème volume, p. 292

⁶⁹ *Ibidem.*, p. 116

⁷⁰ *Ibidem.*

rencontrer ici un étranger est principalement la chasse sans aucun doute⁷¹. Billecocq illustre le fait que la chasse dans la forêt n'était pas trop agréable, parce que les paysans roumains n'avaient aucune expérience dans le maniement des armes avec des balles ainsi qu'il était possible de risquer de blessure. Billecocq signalait le fait que la chasse offrait les plus beaux souvenirs et cette chose signifiait, "un grand bonheur pour un enfant de Paris qui se trouve soudain en face de deux ou trois cents miles de terrain de chasse, étant en même temps capable de crier «je suis roi, senior et maître»"⁷².

Le point de vue de Thibault - Lefebvre était que l'agriculture ne pouvait pas aller sans industrie, qui apporte un gain plus élevé⁷³. L'industrie quasi inexistante, elle était limitée à l'exploitation des deux mines de sel gemme de chaque principauté. Les habitants du pays croyaient que "les montagnes cachent des mines de fer, de cuivre et de plomb"⁷⁴, mais avec tout cela ils ne prenaient aucune tentative pour les rendre opérationnelles. Une bonne affaire aurait été l'exploitation du bois de construction, mais cela a été empêché en absence de routes⁷⁵.

Les importations et les exportations ont été deux secteurs très importants de l'économie. L'import était représenté par "les biens des ménages qui, en général, après l'opinion de Lefebvre, venaient d'Allemagne, d'Angleterre ou de la France, et en particulier ce qui vient de Paris est reçu avec les yeux fermés"⁷⁶. Certains commerçants importaient "de plus en plus toutes sortes d'articles luxueux, à savoir des gants, des bottes et autres articles, car ces choses sont très appréciées dans la noblesse"⁷⁷.

Le lien avec la civilisation occidentale a été vu par l'intermédiaire du luxe, les boyards étant ceux qui "importaient la plupart des ces objets, c'est-à-dire, des meubles, des lampes, des vins, de saucisson et des pâtés"⁷⁸. Les boyards étaient la classe privilégiée qui a possédé la grande majorité de la terre, tenant dans le même temps, tous les rangs et les positions importants dans les affaires du pays. Beaucoup de voyageurs étrangers ont rapporté les traits négatifs des boyards, "et tout cela, parce qu'ils, par leur naissance, par leur habitudes devaient avoir entièrement l'instinct de domination et...le

⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 104

⁷² *Ibidem*.

⁷³ N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 574

⁷⁴ *Călători străini...*, nouvelle série, le V-ème volume, p. 292

⁷⁵ Gh. Zane, *Industria din România în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea* [L'Industrie de la Roumanie dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle], București, 1970

⁷⁶ Thibault Lefebvre, *op. cit.*, p. 300

⁷⁷ N. A. Bogdan, *Orașul Iași. Monografie istorică și socială ilustrată* [La ville de Iassy. Monographie historiques et sociaux illustrée], édition soignée par Olga Rusu și Constantin Ostap, Editura Tehnopress, Iași, 2004, p. 334

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*.

meilleure boyard doit au moins vivre comme drone”⁷⁹. Hénocque - Maleville signalait le fait que les boyards ont été toujours indifférent au bien du pays, parce qu’ils étaient une classe sociale qui menaient une vie très désordonnée et qui jouaient avec une grande passion des jeux de hasard⁸⁰. Ce travail ne devait pas être considéré comme une exclusivité pour les boyards, car lorsqu’ils ne jouaient pas des jeux de hasard, ”ils partagent leur temps entre des promenades, des spectacles et des visites”⁸¹.

Tous ces boyards dépensaient beaucoup d’argent pour l’éducation de leurs enfants. Même si les jeunes n’apprennent rien, car ils ne contractent que des dettes, ils sont envoyés aux études à Paris, Londres ou Berlin⁸². Le divertissement des boyards moldaves était la danse et les bals. Si à la fin du XVIII-e siècle les boyards et leurs femmes ne dansaient que des danses grecs, moldaves, turques, valaques et égyptiennes, à partir des premières décennies du XIX-e siècle, la mode des danses occidentales a été mise en évidence. Toutefois, pour les voyageurs étrangers, les danses traditionnelles moldaves ne sont pas passés inaperçus. Ubcini a décrit une danse traditionnelle : ”les hommes et les femmes s’accrochent à la main et forment un cercle au milieu duquel il y a les musiciens ; puis ils tournent et balançant leurs bras, ils font des pas en avant ou en arrière pour serrer ou élargir le cercle”⁸³. Le caractère de cette danse ”a été l’un de l’indolence et de la fatalité”⁸⁴, qui était en pleine harmonie avec la nostalgie du peuple roumain, même si la nature et le rythme des danses roumaines, après l’opinion d’Ubcini, étaient très difficiles à comprendre⁸⁵.

Poujade a remarqué le grand nombre des juifs qui vivaient autour des boyards pour échapper au service militaire et aux impôts⁸⁶. La plupart des ces juifs étaient des tailleurs et des cabaretiers, seulement qu’ils n’avaient pas le droit à la terre⁸⁷. Après l’avis de A. Sabatier, ”une classe de gens plus malheureux encore que les paysans”⁸⁸ et qui se trouvaient au service des boyards était composé de Tsiganes. Ils étaient caractérisés comme nomades et vagabonds et presque tous réduits à l’état parfait de la servitude. Bien que l’autorité principale a été exercée sur eux, sans contrôle et sans

⁷⁹ I. Heliade – Rădulescu, *Amintiri*, p. 287; Elias Regnault, *Istoria politică și socială a Principatelor Dunărene* [L’histoire politique et sociale des Principautés Danubiennes], Iași, 1856, p. 324

⁸⁰ N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 567

⁸¹ *Prin Țările Române – călători străini din secolul al XIX-lea* [Par les Principautés roumaines-voyageurs étrangers au XIX-ème siècle], volume soigné par Simina Vărzaru, Editura Sport-Turism, București, 1984, p. 115

⁸² *Călători străini...*, nouvelle série, le V-ème volume, p. 674; N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 558

⁸³ *Călători străini...*, nouvelle série, le V-ème volume, p. 282.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 282-283

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁶ N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 585

⁸⁷ Carol Iancu, *Evreii din România. De la excludere la emancipare* [Les Juifs en Roumanie. De l’exclusion à l’émancipation], Editura Hasefer, București, 1996, p. 46

⁸⁸ *Călători străini...*, nouvelle série, le V-ème volume, p. 293

limitation, ces esclaves ne sont pas très désireux d'obtenir la liberté⁸⁹. Bien que le maître leur a donné du bois, des matériaux et des terrains pour construire des logements simple mais en bon état, ils préféraient vivre sur terre⁹⁰. Les Tziganes portaient "des robes dégoûtant, ils vont tous, sans pantalon, sans chaussures, ayant l'air de prendre plaisir à la plus grande misère et nudité"⁹¹.

Ce que a attiré l'attention des voyageurs à ces esclaves était l'attitude d'indifférence pour leur santé⁹², même si dans ce moment-là, les autorités ont pris de nombreuses mesures nécessaires pour améliorer le système de santé dans le pays. Le premier hôpital fut fondé à Iassy en 1757, l'hôpital qui, après l'opinion d'Appert, avait 198 lits, et dont l'administration était composée de trois membres nommés par le gouvernement⁹³. Appert a remarqué qu'en Moldavie était un seul hospice, au monastère Golia, où les patients n'étaient pas soumis au traitement régulier et rationnel, mais ils étaient laissés dans les mains des prêtres⁹⁴. Parce que les malades étaient soumis aux mauvais traitements, Appert a souligné que "je veux blâmer le fait qu'ils sont abandonnés dans cette petite et triste prison"⁹⁵.

Nombreux églises et monastères ont été répandus dans la Moldavie. Meleville a été l'un des voyageurs attirés par la beauté des églises, il étant celui qui nous a laissé des descriptions très belles⁹⁶. Les monastères de Moldavie ont attiré l'attention des voyageurs. Ces monastères étaient assez peuplées et l'impression qu'ils la laissée sur les visiteurs a été particulièrement très forte. Ubcini a remarqué le grand nombre de fêtes religieuses roumaines, dont les plus importantes étaient le Noël, le Pâques et l'Assomption. Un autre aspect notable a été la crainte de la puissance divine, la punition religieuse empêchant les gens à faire des mauvaises choses. Les habitudes et les superstitions, transmis de génération en génération, ont été prises en soin, car les hommes ont préservé leur caractère sacré. Le grand soin des gens était de ne pas pécher, car les moldaves avaient peur des vampires et des sorcières⁹⁷. Les esprits qui produisaient une grande peur étaient les fantômes, ces esprits malveillants, qui

⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 674

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 673

⁹¹ *Ibidem*.

⁹² Vezi Viorel Achim, *Țigani în istoria României* [Les Tziganes dans l'histoire de la Roumanie], Editura Enciclopedică, București, 1998; Venera Achim, *Statistica țiganilor în Principatele Române în perioada 1830-1860* [La statistiques des Tziganes dans les Principautés Roumaines 1830-1860], en „Revista Istorică”, XIV, nr. 5-6, București, 2005, p. 97-122

⁹³ *Călători străini...*, nouvelle série, le V-ème volume, p. 677-678

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 678

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁶ N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 567

⁹⁷ Dan Bădăraș, Ioan Caproșu, *Iași vechilor zidiri*, Editura Junimea, Iași, 1975, p. 292; Gh. V. Brătescu, *Vrăjitoria de-a lungul timpului* [Sorcellerie au fil du temps], Editura Politică, București, 1985

habitaient dans des endroits isolés, parmi les ruines et qui ne relâchaient pas la guerre contre les vivants⁹⁸.

Une autre superstition était que les gens évitaient de quitter leurs maisons après le coucher du soleil, surtout les mardis et vendredis, pour ne pas avoir à traiter avec les fées du mal, c'est-à-dire les femmes âgées qui avaient une très mauvaise influence⁹⁹. Les funéraires ont été réalisées après un certain rituel. Pour les riches, la cérémonie avait lieu avec une grande somptuosité, un char funéraire était tiré par deux ou quatre chevaux recouverts par une sorte de couvertures noires, qui permet à voir seulement les yeux. Les gens habillées en noir, portant des chapeaux à larges bords, vont à côté du char, tenant des torches allumées dans leurs mains¹⁰⁰. Toutes ces funérailles de luxe avec la musique militaire ont désagréablement surpris les voyageurs étrangers.

En ce que concerne l'apprentissage dans la société moldave, Appert a avoué: "Je ne crois pas qu'il existe des pays en Europe où l'éducation est si peu répandue qu'en Moldavie"¹⁰¹. Les écoles moldaves étaient "dans une désorganisation complète et irrégularités, les écoles privées étaient dénuées de tout contrôle et n'ayant que peu d'enseignants"¹⁰². Beaucoup de professeurs étaient français, par exemple, en 1851, le précepteur Charles-Antoine Coquard devient professeur de langue française à l'Institut central des jeunes filles de Iassy. Très bien rétribué, il sera destitué abusivement en 1853 par le ministre de l'instruction publique Șuțu, il restera à Iassy jusqu'en 1867, date à laquelle il partira pour Galați¹⁰³. En 1853, s'installent à Iassy le coiffeur Alexis Petit et son épouse Giselle Petit, qui ouvrira en 1855 une pension pour jeunes filles dans le jardin Pester, pension qui insistait sur la bonne éducation et les principaux principes moraux et religieux, dispensait des cours de français, allemand, histoire, géographie, religion, calligraphie, musique et travaux aiguilles¹⁰⁴.

Appert a fait l'éloge des écoles des arts, en particulier là où le travail, l'activité, l'intelligence et la moralité sont réunis pour former les jeunes artisans¹⁰⁵. Le français devient la langue de toutes les personnes qui ont reçu une certaine éducation, non seulement dans les écoles privées, mais dans la plupart des écoles publiques, où l'enseignement n'était pas seulement en roumain, mais aussi en français. La langue

⁹⁸ *Călători străini...*, nouvelle série, le V-ème volume, p. 281

⁹⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 280

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*, p. 679

¹⁰² V. A. Urechia, *Istoria școalelor de la 1800 la 1864* [L'histoire des écoles 1800-1864], le III-ème volume, București, 1894, p. 128

¹⁰³ Olivier Dumas, Felicia Dumas, *Enseignement du français et pension françaises à Iasi au XIXe siècle*, en *Franța. Model cultural și politic* [France. Modèle culturel et politique], volume soigné par Al. Zub, Dumitru Ivănescu, Editura Junimea, Iași, 2003, p. 125

¹⁰⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁵ *Călători străini...*, nouvelle série, le V-ème volume, p. 677

française était si répandue que Lefebvre a noté que "les filles n'apprennent pas l'autre, et les jeunes traduisent en français les œuvres des auteurs grecs et latins"¹⁰⁶.

Appert, celui qui a été profondément impressionné de l'académie, de la bibliothèque et des écoles des arts, a déclaré qu'il était profondément déçu que la Moldavie n'avait pas des établissements philanthropiques et des asiles pour les enfants, pour les aveugles, pour les sourds et les muets, tous cela étant ici inconnus.

Le même français nous a également laissé de précieuses informations sur certains aspects de la société moldave pendant la guerre de Crimée, moins débattue des autres voyageurs. Après les visites faites à toutes les prisons, il a été insatisfait de la situation des détenus. Par exemple à la prison pénale de Galați étaient dix-huit prisonniers de toutes les nationalités. Toutes les personnes arrêtées "se couchaient sur des matelas sur le sol, sans recevoir ni de lingerie, ni des uniformes, ce qui explique leur état de nudité"¹⁰⁷. À Iassy, il y avait deux prisons, le pénal et le pénitencier de gendarmerie. En prison, il y avait quarante-neuf prisonniers, la plupart portant des chaînes. Tout le monde dormait sur des lits couverts de matelas de pailles, le plus grave problème étant celui de leur nettoyage¹⁰⁸.

Bien que certains voyageurs, comme Eugène Jouve, pensaient que la société moldave a été corrompue et immorale, "un mélange de Russie et Byzance", au début de la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle, on pourrait voir des améliorations visibles dans tous les secteurs de la société. Les rues ont commencé à être pavées, des villes ont été illuminées, et beaucoup d'arbres ont été plantés partout. Ces progrès ont été rapportés par le consul Poujade, qui le 31 mai 1850, a rapporté à Lahitte, que lors de son voyage en Moldavie a trouvé des signes de progrès: "Les villes sont plus propres, les rues ont des noms, et les maisons sont numérotées"¹⁰⁹. Les jardins publics, les fontaines étaient également plus soigneusement soignés. L'artillerie, la police, l'équipement du corps des gendarmes, la quarantaine à Galați, le camp d'entraînement a connu des changements encourageants. L'éducation, l'organisation des tribunaux ont été soumis à de sérieuses réformes. Tous ces changements, a conclu Poujade, était due à des compétences administratives du prince Michel Sturdza, qui était peut-être, en fait, l'homme le plus capable de pays¹¹⁰.

Avec toutes les améliorations, on pourrait dire que la société moldave pendant la guerre de Crimée, gardant ce qui venait du passé, et en même temps, imitant ce qui était devenu attractif en Occident, a généralement enregistré des progrès visibles. Les voyageurs et les consuls ont souvent surpris dans leurs écrits tous ces progrès, à

¹⁰⁶ N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 580

¹⁰⁷ *Călători străini...*, nouvelle série, le V-ème volume, p. 671

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁹ Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, le XVIII-ème volume, p. 307

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

savoir, les éléments de la modernisation de la société moldave. Tous ces français ont essayé à radiographier la société moldave sous plusieurs aspects. Ils ont présenté des données démographiques, ont analysé les structures sociales, ont montré le progrès et le niveau de l'éducation, de la science, de la culture et des arts, ils ont enregistré le développement urbain et édilitaire dans la Moldavie. Les notes, les dépêches et les rapports consulaires restés des voyageurs et des consuls français sont importants pour la reconstruction du tableau de la société moldave du milieu du XIX-e siècle. Les témoignages documentaires des Français, qui soit ont traversé le territoire de la Moldavie, soit y ont résidé pour une certaine période de temps, présentent un réel intérêt et ont une valeur historique certaine, même si leurs histoires sont parfois superficielles, autrefois sporadiques.

On a essayé par l'étude ci-jointe à passer en revue l'image de la société moldave au milieu du XIX-e siècle. La société moldave, longtemps isolée pas seulement par des frontières politiques, mais aussi par des préjugés, a manifesté dans la seconde moitié du XIX-e siècle, de la réceptivité pour les valeurs de la culture européenne, en général, et pour celles française, en particulier.

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